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Macrinus and Diadumenianus

BY
HENRY JEWELL BASSETT

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

The Collegiate Press
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CHAPTER I

THE INSCRIPTIONS AND COINS

The sources of our information for the lives of Macrinus and Diadumenianus may be divided into three classes, viz.: literary, inscriptional and numismatic. The literary sources are Cassius Dio, Herodian, the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, and brief references in Aurelius Victor, Eutropius and Eusebius.¹ These authorities will be treated in detail in a later chapter.

The inscriptional evidence is quite extensive considering the shortness of Macrinus' reign, the fact that it was spent almost entirely in the Eastern provinces and that after his downfall his inscriptions were systematically erased.

In Rome itself has been found the partially erased record in the *Fasti sodalium Augustalium Claudialium* recording the admission of Macrinus to that body (C.I.L. VI, 1984 (2), lines 13-17). The *Fasti sacerdotum in aede Jovis Propugnatoris consistentium*, while the stone has been broken and the letters erased, show by the context that they also contained the record of the election of Macrinus (C.I.L. VI, 2009). Lead pipes inscribed when Macrinus was praetorian prefect, and others after his accession that bear his own titles with those of Diadumenianus (C.I.L. XV, 7238, 7331); amphorae with the year of his consulate scratched upon them (C.I.L. XV, 4108-4110, 4141); a soldier's scrawl on the wall of the *excubitorium* of the seventh cohort in the modern Trastevere (C.I.L. VI, 3025); an altar dedicated to Juno and set up during his consulship (C.I.L. VI, 367)—all these refer directly to him. Besides these we have a list of soldiers whose terms expired during his reign (C.I.L. VI, 32526); a fragment assigned in the corpus to Elagabalus,²

¹ There are also accounts in Xiphilinus and Zonaras, based on Dio, and references in various writers in the *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*. These latter are, for the most part, inaccurate and of no importance.

² The correct spelling of this name is of course Heliogabalus, from the sun god whose priest the emperor was and whose name he took. We shall however employ the common modernized form Elagabalus.

Alexander Severus or Carinus, but which more likely refers to Macrinus;³ and an inscription referring to the "centuria Macriniana" in an Asturian legion doing service in Noricum at Claudium Juvavum (C.I.L. VI, 3588). A marble base in Ostia with a dedication to Diadumenianus gives the titles of both father and son (Ephemeris Epigraphica VII, 1209).

Sicily furnishes one inscription to Diadumenianus, partially erased and in great part illegible (C.I.L. X, 7280), while two mile-stones (one badly damaged) have been found in Hispania Tarraconensis (C.I.L. II, 4789, 4790) and one dedicatory inscription to Diadumenianus at Cabello in Gallia Narbonensis (C.I.L. XII, 5828).

In central Italy there are two inscriptions on the bases of statues of Isis and Osiris set up at Faesulae in the name of a veteran of Macrinus (C.I.L. XI, 1543, 1544), and at Forum Sempronii in Umbria a dedicatory inscription to Diadumenianus (C.I.L. XI, 6116).

From Upper and Lower Germany come a fragmentary inscription to Diadumenianus on a piece of sandstone covered with a calcareous deposit (C.I.L. XIII, 7379), and one referring to both father and son and telling of the repair of an hour-glass (C.I.L. XIII, 7800), besides two merely dated in his consulship—one of them a somewhat doubtful reading.⁴

Eleven mile-stones⁵ show the repair of a road in Pannonia Inferior in 217 A. D. under Macrinus and Diadumenianus, and five others⁶ tell of the construction of roads in Noricum in the next year. There is also a mutilated mile-stone to Diadumenianus

³ P[RAEF] · P[RAET] I[MP] · CAES · MA—The editor evidently reads MA—=M · A[VRELIVS] but as the point used elsewhere in this fragment is not found between M and A, the more probable reading is MA[CRINVS]. The praenomen Marcus was very seldom written out in inscriptions of this period. C.I.L. XIV, 2257 where MARC . is read in an inscription of Elagabalus is an exception to the general rule. Macrinus' titles are given in great variety and in varying order on both coins and inscriptions, and this exact order is often found on the coins. Cf. Cohen *Medailles Imperiales* (Paris, 1884, 2nd ed.) IV Macrinus, 170, 177 etc., and B.M. *Phoenicia*, pp. 77 and 272. (The catalogues of the British Museum will be designated by the letters B.M.)

⁴ C.I.L. XIII, 7570c and *Revue Archaeologique* (Paris) 1911 (XVIII), p. 504.

⁵ C.I.L. III, 3714, 3720, 3724, 3725, 10618, 10629, 10635, 10637, 10644, 10647, 10658.

⁶ C.I.L. III, 5708, 5728, 5736, 11833, 11841.

from Dalmatia (C.I.L. III, 8307), and an inscription to Macrinus on the rebuilding of a macellum destroyed by fire (C.I.L. III, 12733).

In Thrace there is a military dedication by the second cohort "Lucensium Antoniniana" (C.I.L. III, 12339), and in Boeotia at Chaeronea an inscription on a marble shrine (C.I.G. I, v, 1620).

A military inscription from Egypt in honor of Diadumenianus gives us valuable information in regard to Julius Basilianus, appointed by Macrinus to succeed Julianus as Prefect of the Pretorian Guard.⁷ There are also three papyri dated in the second year of the reign of Macrinus, at least one of them after his death but before the news could reach Egypt.⁸

Since Macrinus himself came from Africa (Cassius Dio 78, 11, 1), it is not surprising that we find there the most pretentious monument to him, namely an arch of triumph at Zana (ancient Diana).⁹ The inscription has been broken into sixteen pieces, but is still legible. The nomina of Macrinus and Diadumenianus have been erased. Four mile-stones from four different roads, and a fifth that may belong to this reign are also found in Africa.¹⁰

No inscriptions have been found on the continent of Asia.

Our numismatic material is abundant and varied. Cohen (Vol. IV, pp. 289-318) lists 189 coins of Macrinus, 34 of which are from the provinces, and 52 coins of Diadumenianus, 28 of them from the provinces. Large hoards of coins, duplicates in Cohen, have been found in England, one containing 55 examples of coins of Macrinus.¹¹ These, however, are but a small percentage of the provincial coins known. We have at least thirty-four examples from Thrace, some of Macrinus and some of Diadumenianus, several from Macedonia and Albania, and one from Achaia. The rest of these coins were struck in Moesia Inferior or on the continent of Asia.

⁷ Rev. Arch. 1905 (Juil.-Dec.), p. 194.

⁸ Griechische Urkundung der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig (Teubner, Leipsic, 1906), Erster Band, p. 217, no. 79 (Ostrakon No. 769) and Greek Papyri of the British Museum, Catalogue with texts, Vol. II, 1898, page 93, Papyrus CCCLI and Vol. III, p. 60.

⁹ C.I.L. VIII, 4598. For a cut of this arch see Duruy, *Histoire des Romains* (Paris, 1885), Vol. VI, p. 273.

¹⁰ C.I.L. VIII, 10464, 21192, 22562, 22628 and 22626(?).

¹¹ Numismatic Chronicle (London and Paris), III, 18(1898), p. 163; III, 17(1897), p. 122; III, 20(1900), p. 25.

Moesia Inferior furnishes over 350 coins,¹² all from Marcianopolis and Nicopolis, the only cities in this province coining under Macrinus. More than 75 of them are double coins, bearing the portraits of both Macrinus and Diadumenianus. All of these were struck at Marcianopolis, and there are only about fifteen other of these double coins known. All of them are from Asia. The significance of this Moesian coinage will be discussed later.

According to the *Scriptores* (Diad. 2, 6)¹³ money was coined at Antioch in the name of Diadumenianus immediately after he had received the title Antoninus, and in the name of Macrinus after the Senate had taken action. From this mint we have double coins of Macrinus and Diadumenianus of a somewhat different type from those of Moesia Inferior, as well as separate coins of each. Naturally this section of the empire furnishes many coins of this reign. There are about forty examples published from Seleucia and Pieria, almost as many from Phoenicia, while Cyrrhestica, Coele-Syria, Galilee, Judaea and Samaria are all represented.

The mints of Asia Minor were very active during this period. Bithynia furnishes us with about seventy coins, Phrygia with thirty-six, Cilicia with twenty-eight. In the last named province the town of Aegeae regularly takes the epithet *Μακρινουπο* (*λίτων*)¹⁴ and the town of Tarsus that of *Μακρυνιάνης*.¹⁵ Pontus, Paphlagonia, Mysia, the Troad, Lydia, Caria, Ionia, Pisidia, Pamphylia, Galatia and Cappadocia are represented by from one to ten coins each.

The Hunterian Collection¹⁶ at Glasgow has listed in its catalog (Vol. III, p. 308, nos. 28-30) four coins of Macrinus from Mesopotamia. Three of them are from Edessa and bear the reverse inscription OMEΔECCA. OM is interpreted as Opellia Macriniana. The

¹² B. M. Moesia Inferior and Imhoof-Blumer *Die Antiken Münzen Nord Griechenlands* (Peck) (Berlin, 1912), Vol. I, pt. 1. (This work will hereafter be cited as I.B. N.G.)

¹³ The citations Diad., Macr., etc. regularly refer to the lives in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Peter, Leipsic, 1884).

¹⁴ B. M. Cilicia, p. 24 ff., Hunter. II, p. 526 and *Numismatische Zeitschrift* (Wien) XXI, 205.

¹⁵ B. M. Cilicia, p. 200 and Imhoof-Blumer *Monnaies Grecques* (Amsterdam, 1883), p. 367.

¹⁶ MacDonald *Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection* (Glasgow, 1901 and 1905). Cited as Hunter.

likeness of Macrinus is poor.¹⁷ The third coin is from Nisibis¹⁸ and the head portrayed is probably wrongly identified as Macrinus. The editor himself questions the identification, and the plate shows that the head bears little resemblance to our emperor. Furthermore the obverse inscription reads AVTKAI [—] ONCEB. The ON is hard to explain if the coin belongs to Macrinus.

In all there are at least 900 coins known that were struck in the short reign of this emperor.

After this brief survey of the material available let us consider in detail the information there found regarding Macrinus and Diadumenianus, uniting with it that obtained from the literary sources.

¹⁷ Cf. Duruy, *Histoire des Romains*, Vol. VI, pp. 266-7 for cuts of the statue of Macrinus in the Vatican (Mus. Pio Clem. t. III, pl. 12) with antique head, and of the bust of Macrinus in the Capitoline (Hall of the Emperors, no. 55). Also compare the likeness common on the coins.

¹⁸ Hunter. III, p. 315, no. 2. The representation of these coins is on Plate LXXIX, numbers 1 and 15.

CHAPTER II

THE LIVES OF MACRINUS AND DIADUMENIANUS PRIOR TO 217

The cognomen *Macrinus* is by no means uncommon in imperial times. It is found,¹ for example, in the Flavian, Cassian, Claudian, Fabian, Lucretian, Aurelian and Pompeian gentes at Rome; and the feminine form *Macrina* is also common. In Africa too the name appears, and most frequently of all in Gaul.² *Macrinus* is evidently a derivative from the adjective "macer" and was originally an agnomen.³ Plutarch, in fact, (*Life of Marius, ad init.*) cites it as an example of a name given on account of "nature, action or bodily characteristic." *Macer* itself is a familiar cognomen and *Macrinus* and *Macrinianus* are also found. In at least one instance⁴ a family seems to have altered the cognomen *Macer* to *Macrinus*. Two inscriptions from Rome show the growth of the agnomen into a cognomen. In one *Macrinus* is a mere nickname, on a par with *Persicus*,⁵ in the second⁶ it has become a cognomen, but the other name still lingers. The juxtaposition of the names *Diadumenus* and *Macrinus* in the former inscription is also worth noting.

¹ C.I.L. VI, 3426, 14514, 15140, 17520, 21638, 13143. *Fasti consulares* (year 164 A.D.) (Liebenam, *Fasti Consulares Imperii Romani* (Bonn, 1909), p. 24.)

² C.I.L. XIII, 1798, 1938, 2280.

³ Cf. T. Caesernius Statius Quintus Statianus Memmius *Macrinus* and Caius Sedatius Velleius Priscus *Macrinus* (Dessau, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* II, p. 315 (Berlin, 1897). To be cited hereafter as P.I.R.).

⁴ Cf. Rohden and Dessau, P.I.R. III, (Berlin, 1898), p. 67, no. 471 where the stemma shows the first three generations with the cognomen *Macer*, and the next three with the cognomen *Macrinus*. The feminine *Macrina* appears in the third generation, just before the shift in the masculine form. In the sixth generation we have M. Pompeius *Macrinus* (cos. 164 A.D.).

⁵ C.I.L. VI, 15191. Ti. Claudius C.f. qui *Persicus* posuit *Diadumeno Aboni* f. qui et *Macrinus* vocitatus est memoriae casa [sic].

⁶ C.I.L. VI, 13143. D. Inf. M. Aur. *Macrinus* qui et I [lo] cum adjacentem aedificium circuitum.

The Latin writers give Macrinus' nomen as Opilius, but Opellius, or the abbreviated forms Opel. or Op., are found regularly on the inscriptions and coins.⁷

The Scriptores⁸ regularly spell the name of Macrinus' son "Diadumenus," but the evidence of inscriptions and coins is without exception in favor of "Diadumenianus." The author attempts to explain the name (Diad. 4) by telling of a peculiarity connected with the birth of the boy that caused him to be called Diadematus—perhaps merely another instance of the common practice of relating portents supposed to have attended the birth of notables. This name the author says was changed to Diadumenus when the boy grew up, that being the name of his maternal grandfather and very like the one he already bore. There may be some truth in this last statement. One inscription has been cited already (cf. p. 10) in which the names Macrinus and Diadumenus are associated. Three other inscriptions, found near Naples in excavating for the tunnel for the electric road to Pozzuoli not far from Piedigrotta, are of sufficient interest to be given in full. They were all scratched on the wall of an ancient canal in the year 65 A.D., by a man who very likely was an ancestor of our Macrinus (*Ephemeris Epigraphica* 8, 335, 336, 337). The first two are duplicates and read as follows: "Macrinus Diadumeni Aug(usti)l(iberti)proc(uratoris) Antoniani disp(ensator) hic fuit Nerva et Vestino cos. pr. Idus Januarias." The third is: "Macrinus Diadumeni Aug(usti)l(iberti) proc(uratoris) Antoniani disp(ensator) hic ambulavit a villa Polli Felicis, quae est epilimones, usque ad emissarium Paconianum Nerva et Vestino cos."⁹

Another inscription (C.I.L. X, 3347), found at Misenum in the remains of an ancient aqueduct refers to "Diadumenus A rationibus,"

⁷ Peter, *Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Leipsic, 1892), pp. 147-8 and note 1 thinks the form Opilius is due to the Graecizing tendency of the writer of the life in the Scriptores, but Dio and Herodian do not give the name at all and C.I.G., I, v, 1620 seems to have read *Οπῆλλιον*. Cf. also Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem gebiete der Roemischen Verwaltungsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1877), Vol. I, p. 231.

⁸ Also Aurelius Victor (Dubois, Paris, 1846), ch. 22, and Eutropius (Wiese, Leipsic, 1866), VIII, 21(12).

⁹ Mommsen has discussed these inscriptions (*Hermes*, Vol. 18, p. 159) but from another point of view. He identifies Pollius Felix as the one referred to by Statius and his villa (epilimones) as the "Limon" mentioned in *Silv.* 3, 2 and 2, 2.

and La Vega's reading of this inscription is "Diadumenus A//¹⁰ a rationibus." A tombstone (C.I.L. VI, 8415) found outside the Porta Aurelia at Rome reads, "Diadumenus Aug. lib. A rationibus Aniceto lib." These probably refer to the same man.¹¹ We gather then that in the year 65 A.D. Diadumenus held a position as "A rationibus," very likely from the provenance of several of the inscriptions "A rationibus classiariis" as suggested by the editor of the corpus;¹² that he was a freedman of Augustus;¹³ and that he had a dispensator named Macrinus. Now Dio (78, 11, 1) tells us that Macrinus was of very low birth, in fact that he had had one of his ears bored as a mark of servitude, while the *Scriptores* (Macr. 4, 3 and 6) represent him as a freedman, and according to one account a *tabellio*. We also learn from Dio that later on he served as procurator for Plautianus. It seems probable that the Macrinus who was dispensator to Diadumenus in the year 65 was succeeded in office by his descendants—a perfectly natural circumstance—and that our Macrinus married his employer's daughter.¹⁴ Thus Diadumenianus' grandfather would have the name Diadumenus.

Furthermore, there is inscriptional evidence that at least one member of this family moved to Africa, in fact to the very town from which Dio (78, 11, 1) tells us that Macrinus came, viz., Caesarea, Mauretania. An inscription (*Notizie degli Scavi* 1891, p. 204) found in Pozzuoli, not far from several of those already cited, reads: "D. M. Cn. Hai Carpi Cn. Haius Diadumenus liberto optimo." Another, found at Caesarea, Mauretania, begins: "Cn. Haio Diadumeniano Proc. Auggg. u[tr]ar[um]que Mauretaniarum Tingitanae," etc. The rest is badly damaged (C.I.L. VIII, 9366). The *Prosopographia* under the nomen Haius assigns both of these inscriptions to the same person, not making any reference to the difference in the spelling of the cognomen, but giving it as Diadumenianus, although under the index letter D there is a cross refer-

¹⁰ sc. Augusti libertus.

¹¹ P.I.R. II, p. 9, no. 57 mentions also a lead pipe found on Monte Caelio, and inscribed Diadumeni Aug. (Bull. comm. 1886, p. 104, n. 1158).

¹² Cf. note on C.I.L. X, 3347.

¹³ Freedmen were regularly employed in this capacity—before Hadrian's time exclusively, and after his time in the subordinate positions. Cf. Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions* (Boston, 1901), paragraph 435.

¹⁴ As Vergil's father did according to Donatus 1, 1.

ence to the same man as Diadumenus not as Diadumenianus. Evidently this member of the family, at any rate, gained power and moved to Africa. The Prosopographia dates this last inscription at the close of the reign of Severus, on the theory that "Auggg." stands for Severus, Caracalla and Geta. This would make him a contemporary of Macrinus.

Diadumenus seems to have changed the spelling of his name on or after his arrival in Africa. Probably the African provincials of that time were fond of long and high sounding names, as are the Africans, and the whites of the backward and secluded sections of our own country, at the present day. It is probable then that Macrinus' son was, as the Scriptores assert, really named for his grandfather, and that this African branch of the family had lengthened the name from Diadumenus to Diadumenianus. The real significance of the derivative would not be considered in the province, perhaps not even known, and a long high sounding name would be desired. The authors of the lives of Macrinus and Diadumenianus in the Scriptores¹⁵ knew that the derivative was regularly given in the case of adoption. They also knew that Diadumenianus was not an adopted son. Hence they concluded that the correct form was Diadumenus.

Another inscription (C.I.L. VIII, 9371) from Caesarea, Mauretania, is of interest here. It is a monument in honor of three men, father, son and grandson, all bearing the name Q. Sallustius Macrinianus. The oldest of the three is like Cn. Haius Diadumenianus a "proc. Augg[g]." in Mauretania and his date likewise is fixed at the end of Severus' reign.¹⁶ This seems to be the only occurrence of the form Macrinianus. Now the name Macrinus is to the name Macrinianus as the name Diadumenus is to the name Diadumenianus. We have here, therefore, another example of this lengthening of the cognomen occurring in the same town, at the same period and in connection with Macrinus' own family name.

But little is known as to the early career of Macrinus. As already stated (p. 12), he came from Caesarea, Mauretania—the

¹⁵ This holds for Aurelius Victor and Eutropius also, or rather for their common source, the so-called "Imperial Chronicle." L'écrivain, *Etudes sur L'Histoire Auguste* (Paris, 1904), p. 427, lists this spelling as one of the evidences that the two used a common source. Also cf. *ibid.*, p. 264 note, and see page 11 and note above.

¹⁶ Cf. P.I.R. III, p. 160, nos. 64-66.

modern Cherchell¹⁷ in Algeria. This place was the capital of Mauretania Caesariensis, and a rich and splendid provincial town, situated on the Mediterranean coast about fifty-five miles west of the modern Algiers.¹⁸

Dio (78, 11, 1) tells us that Macrinus was a Moor of very low birth, and that his ear had been bored as a mark of his servile condition,¹⁹ that being the custom among many of the Moors.

This need not be taken too literally however. Dio probably means merely that he was a Moor (i. e., a Mauretanian) by nationality or that he had a strain of Moorish blood, not that he was a descendant of one of the indigenous Berber tribes. The *Historia*

¹⁷ Cf. Duruy, *Hist. des Rom.*, VI, 263.

¹⁸ Founded by the Carthaginians who named it Jol. Juba II made it the capital of Mauretania in 25 B.C., calling it Caesarea. Claudius made it a Roman colony. Pliny, Mela and Ptolemy all speak of its splendor. Some of the finest statues discovered in Africa have been found here. Many inscriptions have been discovered, cut in marble of superior quality. Extensive ruins on the site have suffered much from vandalism. An Egyptian statue with a cartouch of Thotmes II leads some to think that there was an Egyptian settlement here about 1500 B.C. Cf. C.I.L. VIII 2, p. 800 ff. and Supplement. Also *Encyclopaedia Britannica* s.v. Cherchell. Xiphilinus (342, 5) says ἀπὸ Συκελλας Καυραπέλας and Zonaras (XII, 13 ad init.) leaves out *Καυραπέλας* entirely. There is no question but that Caesarea in Mauretania is the place from which Macrinus came. See page 61 below for a mile-stone of Macrinus from Tipasa, a coast town close to Caesarea.

¹⁹ It may be said that this is an unwarranted inference from the passage in Dio. But notice that it is mentioned as the greatest dishonor. It is of course well known that the Africans, Semites and Orientals generally wore earrings as ornaments, and that the Romans looked with scorn upon this custom. Cf. Mayor's (London, 1872) note on Juv. 1, 104 with authorities cited there. But notice that these citations for the use of earrings as ornaments take for granted the piercing of both ears. Dio expressly states that but *one* of Macrinus' ears was pierced. This was a mark of servitude. Mayor is inaccurate in saying that a Hebrew slave had his ears bored when refusing to go out free in the year of Jubilee, as is shown by his own citations, viz. Exod. 21, 6 and Deut. 15, 17. See notes on these passages by Robinson in the volume on Deuteronomy and Joshua in the Century Bible (Edinburgh, 1907), and by Driver in the volume on Exodus in the Cambridge Bible (Cambridge, 1911). It is very plain in both passages that but one ear was to be bored. The Phoenicians probably had the same custom as the Hebrews, and brought this custom with them to North Africa. Dio's statement κατὰ τὸ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν Μαύρων ἐπιχώριον is to be taken in a general sense as referring to the African method of marking slaves, unless indeed Dio himself confused the two customs. For a discussion of the ancient custom of marking slaves on the ear see Cook, *The Laws of Moses and the Code of Hammurabi* (London, 1903), p. 159 ff.

Augusta (Macr. 4) does not represent Macrinus as a native African, but states that he was relegated to Africa by Severus, and even mentions one story to the effect that he was a gladiator who, after his retirement from the arena, withdrew to Africa. The author of the life in the *Historia Augusta* is prejudiced against Macrinus, and would have been eager to mention it had he really been a Moor in the strictest sense of the term. It is more reasonable to believe that Dio used the words *τὸ μὲν γένος Μαῦρος*²⁰ in a general sense than to conclude with Hönn and Klebs²¹ that Macrinus was of African descent, but that the Scriptor was ignorant of the fact. The date of Macrinus' birth is fixed in the year 164 by Dio's statement (78, 40, 3) that he was fifty-four years old at his death.

The story in the *Scriptores* to the effect that Macrinus performed servile offices in the imperial house under Commodus [Macr. 4], was removed by Severus and relegated to Africa where he became a lawyer and jurist, that his rank was restored and that he was made *advocatus fisci* under Verus Antoninus, is given with hesitation by the author with the statement that the information is drawn from the abuse of Macrinus in the Senate after Elagabalus' acces-

²⁰ The use of *γένος* in the sense of *nationality* as distinct from or directly contrasted with *race* is recognised in the lexicons. The bulk of the population in Roman Africa was always: (1) Indigenous Berber tribes (a large number, including the Mauri). (2) Descendants of the ancient Carthaginians. (3) Roman colonists. The coast towns, like Caesarea, would have very few of the Berbers, but would be composed mostly of the second class with of course a large number of the mixed race known as Liby-Phoenicians. See the article "Africa, Roman" in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. This theory of Macrinus' descent, however, does not preclude the possibility of his having Moorish blood in his veins, and does not necessarily contradict Dio's statement (78, 27, 1) that his cowardice was due to the fact that he was a Moor. He himself was without doubt born in Africa. His father, and even his grandfather, may have been, for Macrinus was born a hundred years after the date of the inscriptions cited from Naples. The family of low rank very likely intermarried with the natives, and thus brought a strain of African blood into Macrinus' veins. This would explain, too, the introduction of the name Macrinus into the Numidian tribes, as evidenced by a reference to an Aulus Larcus Macrinus as "princeps Numidarum et flamen perpetuus" in an inscription supposed to belong to the second century or to the period of the Antonines. It is not unlikely that he was a Berber relative of Macrinus. (Cf. *Comptes Rendus de L'Academie des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, (Paris, 1904), p. 479, R. Cagnat, A. Khamissa.)

²¹ Cf. Hönn, *Quellenuntersuchungen zu den Viten des Heliogabalus und des Severus Alexander* (Leipsic and Berlin, 1911), p. 8 and Klebs, *Rheinische Museum* XLV, p. 457.

sion. However, it shows that the opinion was prevalent that Macrinus was of Italian rather than of African extraction, and it was an attempt to asperse his memory by associating him in a servile capacity with the bad emperor Commodus, and by representing him as brought into disgrace under the good emperor Severus. At the same time the story accounts for his presence in Africa.

As to Macrinus' having held the office of "Advocatus fisci" under Verus, that is plainly an error, for as Peter has pointed out Verus had been dead for years, and the removal of Macrinus from "miserimis officiis" has already been assigned to Severus.²²

Dio (78, 11, 2 and 3) tells us that he was procurator for Plautianus,²³ and at the time of the latter's overthrow was in great peril, but was saved by the interposition of Cilo. Afterwards Severus made him "praefectus vehiculorum" on the Flaminian way,²⁴ and under Caracalla he was first "procurator privatae" and was then made "praefectus praetorio."²⁵

The immediate predecessor of Macrinus was Papinianus who according to Dio (77, 1, 1,) was removed from office on Caracalla's accession in 211, but not killed until after the murder of Geta in

²² Peter *Exercitationes Criticae* in S. H. A. (Posen, 1863), p. 15 ff., credits this correction to Casaubon, but rightly objects to his reading "sub Severo vel Antonino," as there would be no reason for a hesitating statement. He thinks that Vero is a misreading of the compendium for Severus, and that the reference is to Caracalla who is known to have promoted Macrinus (Dio 78, 11, 3). As to whether Macrinus ever held this office is a question. It was often made a stepping stone to other positions. See Daremberg and Saglio s.v.

²³ Himself from Africa. Cf. also p. 57 below and Dio 78, 22, 2 (cited there) for an appointee of Macrinus who had been a follower of Plautianus.

²⁴ This was the most important of the postal districts into which the empire was divided, for the Flaminian way was the great artery connecting Rome with her provinces, and the one used by the emperor when he went to war. The praefectus vehiculorum in charge of this road received the highest salary, and was the highest in rank of all these officers. See Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* (Leipsic, 1876-7), 2, 2, 1030-1031. Cf. *Macr.* 2, 1 and 7, 1.

²⁵ Dio 78, 11, 3 and *Macr.* 4, 6 and 7. For Macrinus' "cursus honorum" see Hirschfield, *Untersuch. auf dem Geb. der Roem. Verwalt.*, pp. 231-2. The statement of *Diad.* 4, 1 that Macrinus was "procurator aerarii maioris" is false. There was no such office. Cf. Mommsen, *Die Scriptores Hist. Aug.* (Hermes XXV, 1890, p. 233 and note) and Lécrivain, p. 29. Hirschfield (*Untersuch.* 1, 193 note 1) thinks aerarium should be read vestiarius, and that Macrinus was keeper of the royal wardrobe.

212 (77, 4, 1). The *Historia Augusta*, however, has an entirely different account (Caracalla, 8, 8-10), representing Papinianus as still prefect at the time of Geta's murder, and as having been killed by the soldiers at the instigation of Caracalla because of his sympathy for Geta. The writer goes on to say, "cum raptus a militibus ad Palatium traheretur occidendus, praedivinasse, dicens eum stultissimum fore, qui in suum subrogaretur locum, nisi adpetitam crudeliter praefecturam vindicaret. Quod factum est: nam Macrinus [Antoninum] occidit." We can accept the statement that Macrinus was his immediate successor, and it is quite possible that he may have taken office in 211 rather than in 212, for Papinianus might have retained the nominal rank until after Geta's death, though the actual power had been bestowed upon Macrinus or upon Oclatinus Adventus, his newly appointed colleague. Perhaps Caracalla feared to take extreme measures against him till he had gotten rid of Geta, although he hated him for his supposed partiality for the latter. This theory would harmonize the statements of Dio and the *Historia Augusta*. Dio would look upon the retirement of Papinianus from active duties as a practical removal from office, but naturally Papinianus would hold on to the shadow of power until his death. In this connection we may note that at the death of Caracalla there were two praetorian prefects. Oclatinus Adventus claimed precedence on account of age, but not on account of priority of appointment.²⁶ Macrinus was the one who evidently exercised the real power.

Two references to Macrinus as praetorian prefect are found outside of the literary sources—one of them in the Justinian Code and one in an inscription. Both of them give him the appellation "clarissimus vir." The reference in the Code reads: "Imp. Antoninus cum salutatus ab Oclatinio Adventu²⁷ et Opellio Macrino praefectis praetorio, clarissimis viris," etc. (C.I.J., Code 9, 51, 1). The inscription (C.I.L. XV, 7505) was found at Rome, partly duplicated at Cortona. Lead pipes from a private aqueduct on the Caelian Hill bear two inscriptions: (a) "M. Opelli Macrini

²⁶ Cf. Dio 78, 14, 2 and Herodian IV, 2, 1.

²⁷ There are a number of variant readings of the name of Adventus, but the above is the one generally accepted. See Borghesi (Paris, 1893), 10, 102, n. 1. For fuller discussion of the name see *ibid.*, IX, 348 ff. The Krüger-Mommsen-Kroll edition of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* reads "Advento."

pr(aefecti) pr(aetorio) c(larissimi) v(iri)" and (b) "M. Opelli Diadumeniani c(larissimi) p(ueri)." The first line is duplicated at Cortona. The editor of the corpus thinks the lines were written twice on the pipes, which were later cut in two and one part sent to Cortona. The aqueduct was undoubtedly a private one, belonging to Macrinus personally.²⁸ It is interesting to notice that this first bit of inscriptional evidence of Macrinus bears also the name of his son Diadumenianus who was born in the year 208 (Dio 78, 34, 2), and so may have been no more than four years old at this time and certainly was not yet nine.

²⁸ Cf. C.I.L. XV, 2, p. 909, col. 2. Also see C.I.L. XV, 7343 for other pipes found with these that are likewise duplicated at Cortona.

CHAPTER III

MACRINUS AND CARACALLA

The account of Macrinus' plot against Caracalla and of the murder of the latter by Martialis at the instigation of Macrinus is given in detail by Cassius Dio (78, 4-8), in a more sketchy manner and with a number of variations by Herodian (IV, 12-13), and is briefly summarized in the lives of Caracalla and Macrinus in the *Historia Augusta* (Carac. 6, 6-7; 7, 1; 11, 5. Macr. 4, 7). There is, of course, no evidence from inscriptions or coins. This matter is treated fully by Duruy and other historians, and it will not be necessary to go into details here.

The report of a seer in Africa that Macrinus and Diadumenianus were to rule became current (Dio 78, 4, 1-2). Probably Africa is to be taken in a general sense and this seer came from Mauretania, Macrinus' old home. Very likely he made use of the story already referred to (p. 11) regarding the peculiar "diadem" at the birth of Diadumenianus and the other portents supposed to have occurred at that time. In fact he may have originated some of them (Diad. 4). In any case the report came to the ears of Flavius Maternianus¹ whom Caracalla had left in charge at Rome, and he hastened to inform his master. Herodian (IV, 12, 4) says that Caracalla, always suspicious, had sent to Maternianus to have him consult the best fortune tellers to find out concerning the end of his life and whether any one was plotting against him, and thinks it a question whether Maternianus really received such an oracle or was merely plotting to get Macrinus out of the way. There is nothing intrinsically improbable in this theory, nor is it inconsistent with the character of Caracalla, but it sounds more like a theory "post eventum" than a narrative of actual occurrences. The more circumstantial account of Dio is to be preferred. Whether the prophecy was sought out or made known to Maternianus by chance, whether indeed the prophecy had ever really been uttered would

¹ According to Dio (78, 4, 2), Macrinus himself told him.

have made no difference, provided only the report reached the ears of Caracalla. According to Herodian (IV, 12, 2,) Macrinus was already in disfavor with the emperor who ridiculed his low birth and effeminacy and threatened to kill him.

Fortunately for Macrinus, this report reached him before it did Caracalla. Dio tells us (78, 4, 2 and 3) that this was due to the fact that Maternianus sent his letter to Julia at Antioch, who had been instructed by Caracalla to examine his mail and to send only the most important to him at the front. In the meantime a letter from Ulpian Julianus, one of Macrinus' fellow-officials and later his pretorian prefect (Dio 78, 15, 1), sent direct to him informed him of his danger. Herodian (IV, 12, 6 and 7) on the other hand says that the letter reached Caracalla just as he was mounting his chariot. It was in a bundle with others and the emperor handed over the whole bundle to Macrinus, who reported on the other letters but naturally suppressed his own death warrant.² However, his fears were not quieted thus, for there was a likelihood that another letter would reach Caracalla and apprise him of the prophecy.

Serapion, an Egyptian recently arrived, had told Caracalla that his life was near its end and that Macrinus should be his successor, and this greatly increased the latter's danger. Incidentally, Serapion was executed (Dio 78, 4, 4 and 5).

It was now certain that either Caracalla or Macrinus must be put out of the way, and Macrinus had the first move. He seems to have had little trouble in finding accomplices. Both Dio (78, 5, 2 and 3) and the *Historia Augusta* (Car. 6, 6-7) mention Nemesianus and his brother Apollinaris and Julian Martialis, the actual assassin, while the *Historia Augusta* adds Recianus, prefect of the second Parthian legion and commander of the "equitum extraordinariorum," Marcus Agrippa, who was over the fleet, and many officials won over by Martialis. This last statement is very doubtful, for we learn from Dio (78, 5, 3 and 4) that this Martialis was not an influential officer, but an "evocatus" and a man with a personal grudge against the emperor for refusing him a centurionship that he had sought. Here again Herodian's account differs for he represents

² These two stories may be harmonized easily. The letter from Julianus may have reached Macrinus, and also the one forwarded to Caracalla by Julia may have been intercepted by him in the manner described by Herodian.

Martialis as a centurion of the emperor's body guard embittered by the unjust execution of his brother and by Caracalla's ridicule of himself as effeminate, of low birth and a friend of Macrinus (Herod. IV, 13, 1). This is similar to the same author's account of the relations between Caracalla and Macrinus and like it appears to be an explanation attempted "post eventum."³

Martialis, urged on by Macrinus, watched his chance and found his opportunity on April 8, 217, as the Emperor was traveling from Edessa to Carrhae.⁴ He caught him when apart from his guards and killed him with a single blow. Very conveniently for Macrinus the assassin, identified by his bloody sword, was immediately killed by a Scythian,⁵ one of Caracalla's body guard who had not been a party to the plot. He in turn was put out of the way by the tribunes, who came up as if to help him.

Macrinus seemed to have covered his tracks well. At first no one suspected that he had anything to do with the murder, but thought that Martialis was satisfying a private grudge (Herod. IV, 13, 7). Macrinus himself stood over the corpse making a pretence of weeping, nor did he seize the power at once, but for three days the Roman world was without a master—all unconscious of its dreadful plight (Dio 78, 11, 4).

He at once sent word of Caracalla's death to the troops scattered over Mesopotamia and held out hopes of a speedy ending of the war, of which they were very tired. Furthermore, the Persian, Artabanus, was approaching eager to take vengeance for the deeds of Caracalla, so on the fourth day⁶ Macrinus was chosen emperor by the soldiers, and appeared to take the place reluctantly and under compulsion.⁷

³ It is of course possible, however, that this is the true account, and that, as the *Historia Augusta* would intimate, Martialis was at the head of a band of disaffected officers who were disgusted with Caracalla's coarseness and angered by his ridicule.

⁴ Cf. Dio 78, 5, 4 and 5; Herod. IV, 13; Caracalla 6, 6 and 7, 1. Herodian says he was staying in Carrhae, and made a trip out of the city to the temple of the moon goddess, worshipped by the Syrians. The *Historia Augusta* states that he was wintering in Edessa and took the trip to Carrhae to visit the temple of the moon goddess. Herodian is probably wrong. We seem to have an account of a long journey.

⁵ Herodian in his less detailed account says Martialis was slain by the German horsemen.

⁶ I.e., April 11. Cf. Dio 78, 41, 4.

⁷ Cf. Dio 78, 11, 5-6 and 26, 2; Herod. IV, 14, 1.

CHAPTER IV

MACRINUS ESTABLISHES HIS RULE

It is impossible to determine the exact order of events upon Macrinus' accession. Our sources here are to a great extent supplementary. The *Historia Augusta* gives the most details, especially those that concern the name Antoninus. This point will be more fully discussed later. Dio's account is the most important, but does not pretend to chronological sequence. He records some of the administrative reforms of Macrinus, discusses his selection of subordinates and tells of some of the criticisms of his conduct as emperor (Dio 78, 12-15) before recounting the Senate's action on receipt of his first letter and the giving of the title Antoninus to Diadumenianus (Dio 78, 16-19). This latter point is referred to incidentally. Herodian after stating briefly that Macrinus cremated the corpse of Caracalla and sent the ashes to Julia at Antioch, and that she killed herself either voluntarily or at command (Herod. IV, 13, 8), passes immediately to the conflict with Artabanus which he gives in great detail. Aurelius Victor (22) has four sentences on the lives of Macrinus and Diadumenianus. The giving of the titles of Caesar and Antoninus to Diadumenianus are the only definite events that he records for this reign.

Macrinus' chief business at first was to ward off the suspicion that he was the murderer of Caracalla, satisfy the disaffected, get rid of possible rivals and firmly establish his own power. Several of his acts were shrewdly contrived to fulfill more than one of these purposes.

The *Historia Augusta* is not in accord with Herodian's statement (IV, 13, 8) that Caracalla's ashes were sent to Julia at Antioch, but says that his corpse was sent back to Rome for interment in the family sepulchre (Macr. 5, 2 ff.).¹ The new emperor entrusted the mission to his former colleague, his own pretorian prefect, Oclatinus

¹ Dio (78, 9, 1) records that the body was burned and that the bones were secretly brought to Rome by night and interred among the Antonines.

Adventus, with instructions to give the former emperor honorable burial with royal honors, for he knew Caracalla was in favor with the common people on account of his gifts to them of food and clothing. This account seems reasonable. Macrinus thus showed respect to the memory of Caracalla, warded off suspicion, conciliated the friends of the dead emperor and, most important of all, got rid of a possible rival for the throne. After the death of Caracalla, the soldiers had offered the purple to Adventus first (Herod. 1V, 14, 2), and when he refused it on account of his age they offered the position to Macrinus as their second choice, the tribunes who had assisted in the plot against Caracalla and who were already under suspicion urging him to accept. Dio (78, 14, 2) tells us that Adventus said openly to the soldiers, "ἐμοὶ μὲν ἡ μοναρχία ἄτε καὶ πρεσβεῖοντι τοῦ Μακρίνου προσήκει, ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπεργήρως εἰμὶ, ἐκείνῳ αὐτῆς ἐξίσταμαι." Adventus then was first shelved by this honorary service, and then was kept away from the scene of action and his vanity flattered by appointment to the prefecture of the city and by his designation as joint consul with Macrinus for the following year (Dio 78, 14, 1-3). This course roused severe criticism on account of the low birth of Adventus and his incapacity. In fact, his administration of the prefecture was so weak that Macrinus was obliged to remove him from office.²

Caracalla was deified after his death by decree of the Senate (Dio 78, 9, 2), and coins were struck in his honor. The Historia Augusta (Caracalla 11, 5) states that the deification was at Macrinus' instigation through fear of the soldiers and in an effort to avert suspicion from himself. In the extracts of the letter supposed to have been sent by Macrinus to the Senate given in the life of, Macrinus (6, 8) the emperor rather arrogantly requests that the Senate ratify the soldiers' deification of Caracalla. Dio on the contrary states (78, 17, 2-3) that in his letters to Italy, Macrinus never mentioned Caracalla except in naming himself Imperator, preferring that the dishonor to his memory start with the Senate rather than with himself. He adds that he criticized him before the army for having caused the war by his injustice and complained

² For the life of Oclatinus Adventus see P.I.R. 2, p. 424 no. 9, Borghesi 9, 348 ff. and 10, 101-103 and inscriptional evidence there cited. Dio's account is found in book 78, chapter 14. Cf. also p. 57 below.

of the increase of amounts given to barbarians—now equalling the pay of the troops. He would have been glad to have the Senate stigmatize his memory, but did not dare ask it.

The *Historia Augusta* represents Macrinus as ordering the erection of six statues³ in honor of Caracalla, two of them equestrian, two in a standing posture with military garb, and two seated in civilian garb (Macr. 6, 8). Images of Caracalla in gold and silver (Diad. 3, 1) were made by Macrinus himself in the camp and exhibited at the time of the formal giving of the name Antoninus to Diadumenianus. In this case Dio's account seems less probable than that of the *Scriptores*. It would certainly have been good policy for Macrinus to honor the memory of Caracalla. At any rate we know that coins were struck in his honor (Cohen IV (Caracalla) 32, 33, 34). They bore the inscription, "Divo Antonino Magno," and on the reverse, "Consecratio, S. C." Of the three examples given in Cohen two have an eagle⁴ as the reverse type and the third has a funeral pyre in pyramid form adorned with draperies and statues with Caracalla in a quadriga at its summit.⁵ These coins then favor the account of the formal dispatch of the emperor's remains to Rome, the public funeral, and the deification at Macrinus' instigation or at least with his approval.

The new emperor was quick to assume for himself and his son all the imperial titles and epithets that could serve to strengthen his position and lend an air of legitimacy to his rule.⁶ Without waiting for the action of the Senate he styled himself Imperator, Caesar and Severus and wrote Pius, Felix, Augustus and Proconsul⁷ after his

³ Dio (78, 19, 2) represents him as having pulled down some of the statues of Caracalla.

⁴ A common type on coins of consecration representing the eagle that was let loose from the top of the funeral pyre and that was supposed to carry the soul of the dead emperor to heaven. See Eckhel (*Vindobonae*, 1828), 8, 467, and references cited there.

⁵ Cf. Eckhel 8, 468. Probably in this case the emperor is represented in his quadriga instead of on the "lectus funebris" because he died in the midst of a foreign campaign.

⁶ Cf. Dio 78, 16, 2 and 17, 1; Macr. 7, 1-4.

⁷ The Proconsular title, however, never appears on the coins, and in inscriptions only on mile-stones, a triumphal arch in Numidia and a marble base at Ostia (C.I.L. III, 5708, 5728, 5736, 10618, 10629, 10635, 10637, 10644, 11833, 11841; VIII, 4598, 22562, Eph. Ep. VII, 1209).

name.⁸ The Senate dutifully ratified his action making him a patrician and Pontifex Maximus and giving him the tribunician power in addition to the titles he had already assumed,⁹ and making Diadumenianus a patrician, Princeps Juventutis and Caesar.

The name of Severus served to conceal his low birth and to suggest that the old dynasty was being continued (p. 56), rather than that a new one had been established. This title was used consistently throughout his reign on both coins and inscriptions. Out of over 900 coins published only about forty lack the title Severus, and that too when the list of his titles appears in nineteen different forms. The only inscriptions of Macrinus after the date of his accession that omit Severus are those in which his name occurs as consul merely for the purpose of fixing a date,¹⁰ a soldier's scrawl of three words, "Salvo Macrin Imp.," in the excubitorium of the seventh cohort in Trastevere (C.I.L. VI, 3025), and one of the milestones from Pannonia Inferior (C.I.L. III, 10647). Of course sometimes the name has been erased.¹¹ Severus is even found as one of the titles of Diadumenianus on water pipes at Rome and on a coin from Antioch.¹²

The *Historia Augusta* says that Macrinus took the title of Pertinax as well as that of Severus (Macr. 11, 2), but there is no inscriptional or numismatic evidence for this. The same chapter contains the improbable story that when the Senate conferred the names Pius and Felix upon him he accepted the name Felix and refused that of Pius. A Greek epigram on the subject is translated into Latin, and a metrical answer assigned to Macrinus himself is added. This is pure fiction. Pius is found frequently on both

⁸ The statement that he himself took the name Antoninus (Macr. 2, 1) is merely a careless blunder. The two titles that more than any of the others served to link Macrinus and his son to the former dynasty and to give their rule an air of legitimacy are mentioned together, one belonging to the father and one to the son. Cf. Macr. 5, 7.

⁹ Cf. pp. 27 and 53.

¹⁰ C.I.L. VI, 367; XIII, 7800; XV, 4141.

¹¹ Cf. page 76 and note.

¹² C.I.L. XV, 7238 and 7331; B. M. Gal. etc., p. 201, no. 415. Dessau (*Inscr. Lat. Sel. Berlin*), Vol. I, no. 462, in commenting on the first inscription above, overlooks the second inscription and the coin from Antioch when he says that the title is given to Diadumenianus nowhere else.

coins and inscriptions in Europe, Africa and Asia. The Greek equivalent appears on a papyrus from Egypt.¹³ An inscription from Boeotia (C.I.G. I, v, 1620) goes a step further and calls him *θεύτατον*. As in the case of the name Severus, the title Pius is also applied to Diadumenianus. It appears on a coin of his from Heliopolis in Coelo-Syria (Cohen IV (Diad.) 43). Macrinus is called Felix without the appellation Pius only once and that is on an Egyptian papyrus,¹⁴ a grain receipt, where both he and Diadumenianus are termed "*Εὐρύχων Σεβαστών*." Both of them are styled Pius Felix Augustus on a mile-stone from Africa (C.I.L. VIII, 22562).

Diadumenianus was immediately proclaimed heir to the empire and was given the name of Antoninus. The authorities do not agree as to whether this was done by the soldiers themselves or by the Emperor. The most probable supposition is that nominally it was the act of the soldiers, but that it was instigated by Macrinus (Dio 78, 19, 1). At any rate, Diadumenianus was summoned from Antioch and received the titles Caesar and Antoninus. This, of course, was another attempt on the part of Macrinus to establish his own dynasty by linking it with the preceding one. The soldiers longed for their old leader and felt that without an Antonine the empire would go to ruin, or rather was already without a real ruler.¹⁵ Macrinus feared that some upstart Antonine would gain their support, though it is not necessary to believe that many relatives of Antoninus Pius were among his generals (Diad. 1, 3). Actual relationship to him would no be a necessity when it was an easy matter to put forward false claims. Moreover, by conferring this name on his son, Macrinus sought to show honor to the dead and thus to turn away from himself the suspicion that he was the murderer of Caracalla (Dio 78, 19, 2). This gave him an excuse, too, to distribute a bounty among the soldiers and thereby gain their good will.¹⁶ Above all, it provided a successor for himself with authority duly recognized during his own lifetime, a boy of unusual beauty whom he hoped would become the idol of the army. The name "Antonine" seems to have had a magic charm upon the

¹³ Cf. Cat. of Greek Papyri in British Museum, Vol. III, p. 60.

¹⁴ Cf. Cat. of Greek Papyri of British Museum, Vol. II, p. 93, no. CCCLI.

¹⁵ Cf. Macr. 3, 8-9, Diad. 1 et passim.

¹⁶ Dio 78, 19, 3 and Diad. 2, 1. Dio says 750 drachmas; the *Historia Augusta* three golden denarii each for the empire and five each for the name of Antoninus.

legions, for when the contio was assembled and the announcement made, they are said to have received the news with gladness and rejoicing (Diad. 1 and 2). The *Historia Augusta* rings the changes on this name and the life of Diadumenianus contains little else.¹⁷

The coins bear evidence to the "congiarium" given by Macrinus and Diadumenianus and also show the Emperor addressing his soldiers, very likely at the time when Diadumenianus was given the name Antoninus. On one of these coins (Cohen IV Macr. 1) the emperor, is accompanied by another figure whom Cohen thinks is either the pretorian prefect or, more likely, his son. The reverse inscription is "Adlocutio" and the obverse inscription reads: "Imp. Caes. M. Opel. Severus Macrinus Aug." Probably Macrinus is here represented in the act of presenting Diadumenianus to the soldiers. On another coin (Cohen IV M, 69), whose obverse is illegible, Macrinus alone addresses his soldiers. The reverse inscription reads: "Pontif. Max. Tr. P." I do not agree with Cohen in thinking this reading incomplete. There is another coin (DeBelfort, *Recherche des Monnaies Imperiales Rom.*, etc. (Macon, 1884), p. III) representing Macrinus before his soldiers whose obverse inscription is "Imp. Caes. M. Opel. Sev. Macrinus Aug. P. M. Tr. P." These seem to be the only coins bearing the titles Pontifex Maximus and tribunician power without specifying his additional honors. Probably they were struck immediately after the Senate had ratified Macrinus' assumption of the titles Imperator, Caesar, Severus and Augustus, and had of its own accord added Pontifex Maximus¹⁸ and the tribunician power, but had not as yet formally recognized his claim to the titles of Pius, Felix and Proconsul.¹⁹ The argument rests not so much on the omission of these titles, however, for the minor titles are omitted on almost all the coins, as upon the inclusion of the pontifical and tribunician titles only, and the special emphasis laid upon them on one coin by placing them alone on the reverse side. The titles had evidently just been given. The coin belongs to the very early days of Macrinus' reign and the reverse type should be so interpreted. The reverse of

¹⁷ See discussion of these lives in chapter IX.

¹⁸ This title is found only on coins from the Roman mints, England, Albania and Egypt. Cf. note 24 on page 28.

¹⁹ Cf. p. 24 especially note 7, and page 25 f.

this coin is stamped S. C., showing that it was issued by the authority of the Senate, and the reverse inscription reads "Fid(es) Exerc(itus)." ²⁰

Four coins given by Cohen (IV M. 41-44) bear the reverse inscription "Liberalitas Aug." and refer to this "congiarium." Two of them show Liberality with her horn of plenty and a tessera. The other two portray the "congiarium" itself. In one, Macrinus and Diadumenianus are seated on a platform with Liberality and another figure; a citizen (more likely a soldier) is coming up from below. In the other, a soldier stands behind Macrinus and his son, Liberality holds a tessera and a horn of plenty, and below the platform stands a figure holding out its hands for the gift. ²¹

As has already been stated, the Senate at once named Diadumenianus Caesar and Princeps Juventutis. The title Caesar appears regularly on the coins and inscriptions. The title Nobilissimus Caesar frequently occurs on the inscriptions but never on the coins. Princeps Juventutis is common on the inscriptions ²² and is found frequently ²³ on Roman coins, on a number from England and on a few from Egypt. ²⁴ On all of these coins Princeps Juventutis appears as the reverse inscription, and is thus given special prominence. All of these coins, too, have as the reverse type the figure of Diadumenianus standing with ensign and scepter with other ensigns near

²⁰ In this connection it is interesting to compare the statement of the *Historia Augusta* (Macr. 5, 7-8) that the soldiers were on the point of rebellion and that Macrinus quieted them and hushed the rumors that he had murdered Caracalla by unusual gifts of money. The above inscription confirms rather than contradicts this statement. Cf. p. 50f.

²¹ Cf. like coins struck under Hadrian and probably serving as a model for those of Macrinus (Cohen II (Adrien), 908-945). The types vary slightly. In some the soldier behind the emperor is identified as the pretorian prefect.

²² It appears on inscriptions from Africa, Numidia, Sicily, Spain, Gaul, Germany and Italy.

²³ Cohen IV D, 2-18; Gnechi I *Medaglioni Romani* (Milan, 1912), III, p. 40, no. 1; Weber *Sammlung* (Munich, 1908), 1962.

²⁴ Montague ("Rare and Unpublished Roman Gold Coins," *Num. Chron.* III, 17, p. 76) defends the genuineness of one of these pieces. He says the authenticity of an example in the British Museum has been attacked, but that the only ground for suspicion is in the weak lettering of the reverse inscription, and this is found on some of the coins of Macrinus. He thinks this coin is perhaps of provincial origin. It is more likely that the examples from Egypt and England were struck in Rome, and that the title was not used on the provincial coinage.

at hand, often surmounted by hands, garlands or eagles. The types vary slightly, but are practically the same. No example of this type is found on any other coin of Diadumenianus. It is evident then that this is a coin struck purposely to commemorate the bestowal of this title upon Diadumenianus by the Senate. All of them were probably struck in Rome soon after that action.²⁵

Reference has already been made (pp. 25 and 26) to the fact that the titles Severus, Pius and Felix are in a few instances assigned to Diadumenianus. He is even styled Macrinus on the coins of Docimeum²⁶ in Phrygia, and on one coin from Synnada²⁷ in the same province. This last title was of course simply transferred from father to son by a provincial who did not understand the system of Roman nomenclature.

Dio and Herodian agree in the statement that Diadumenianus was given the title of Caesar, but neither says anything about the title Augustus.²⁸ The reference in Dio (78, 19, 1) is at the time when Diadumenianus was first summoned from Antioch, and does not preclude the bestowal of the title at a later date. The passage from Herodian (V, 4 ad fin.) is in the concluding sentence of his account of the life of Macrinus. It reads: "Τέλει μὲν δὴ τοιούτῳ ὁ Μακρίνος ἐχρήσατο, συναναιρεθέντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ παιδός, ὃν ἦν ποιήσας Καίσαρα, Διαδουμενιανὸν καλούμενον." If Herodian had thought that he had the title Augustus, he would certainly have used it here instead of Caesar. It may be remarked in passing that Herodian does not mention Diadumenianus elsewhere in his narrative.

The *Historia Augusta* in the life of Macrinus agrees with Dio and Herodian, probably drawing the statement from them (Macr. 10, 4): "Sciendum praeterea, quod Caesar fuisse dicitur non Augustus Diadumenus puer, quem plerique pari fuisse cum patre imperio tradiderunt." Who are these "plerique"? Lécivain (*Hist. Aug.*

²⁵ Cf. what was said on page 27 regarding the coins bearing the tribunician and pontifical titles.

²⁶ B. M. Phrygia, pp. 193-4; Imhoof-Blumer *Klein Asiatische Münzen* (Wien, 1902), p. 224, 9 and p. 225, 10; Imhoof-Blumer *Mon. Grecq.*, p. 398.

²⁷ B. M. Phrygia, p. 402.

²⁸ Cf. however Dio's statements as to the title *Δύτοκράτωρ*. See citation on page 30. Dio's silence regarding the title Augustus can not weigh heavily, especially when we consider the mutilated condition of the text. In fact the title of *Δύτοκράτωρ* would imply the other.

pp. 187-8) thinks the reference is to the Imperial Chronicle from which Eutropius drew, and cites Eutropius 8, 21 "Macrinus cum filio Diadumeno facti imperatores." Aurelius Victor (22, 1) on the other hand mentions merely the title Caesar in his brief account. The life of Diadumenianus (2, 2) represents him as Imperator on an equal basis with his father at the very beginning of the latter's reign, but also says, "Herodianus Graecus scriptor haec praeteriens Diadumenum tantum Caesarem dicit puerum a militibus nuncupatum et cum patre occisum." The weight of literary evidence then is against the title, but the inscriptions and coins make it clear that in this case these authorities are wrong.²⁹ We find the title of Augustus (or *Σεβάστος*) on many coins of Antioch,³⁰ one of Hieropolis,³¹ three of Alexandria,³² on an Egyptian³³ tax receipt and on mile-stones³⁴ from Noricum and Africa. Furthermore, on three coins from Deultum³⁵ in Thrace, Macrinus is styled Pater Aug(usti).

Just before his downfall Macrinus did formally associate his son with him as full partner in the empire, according to Dio (78, 34, 2 and 37, 6), giving him the title of *Ἀυτοκράτωρ*. His possession of this title is clearly confirmed by numismatic evidence. The fact that the corresponding title Imperator is not found on the Roman coins and *Ἀυτοκράτωρ* only on the provincial coinage of the eastern

²⁹ It is to be noted, however, that the title does not appear on coins outside of Antioch and Alexandria, and only in provincial inscriptions. It is quite likely that it was inserted without proper authorization by the Senate.

³⁰ B. M. Gal., Capp. and Syria, p. 201. In connection with the appearance of the title on coins of Antioch may be noted the statement of Diad. 2, 6 to the effect that coins were struck at once at Antioch in the name of Diadumenianus, but not in the name of Macrinus until after the vote of the Senate. As to the latter statement cf. *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (Berlin), XXXI (1914), 12, where it is pointed out that it was more autocratic to coin in his son's name than in his own, as it implied the succession.

³¹ Imhoof-Blumer *Griechische Münzen* (Munich, 1890), p. 237 (761).

³² B. M. Egypt, Alexandria 1483 and Dattari *Moneti Imperiali Grechi*, Nummi Auggs. Alexandrini (Cairo, 1901), 4090, 4091.

³³ Greek Papyri of Brit. Mus., Vol. II, p. 93, Papyrus CCCLI.

³⁴ C.I.L. VIII, 22562 (erased) and III, 5708, 5728, 5736. Also a number of inscriptions, mostly mile-stones, where an officer is mentioned as *legatus Augg.* This, however, is rather doubtful evidence. Cf. C.I.L. III, 3720, 10629, 10644, 12339 and Butler, *Studies in the life of Heliogabalus* (New York, 1908), p. 53.

³⁵ Cohen IV M, 166, 167, 168.

half of the empire would tend to establish this date, though not to fix it definitely.³⁶ Probably the provincial coins were struck long before the title had been formally given, but when it was used informally with Macrinus' approval. The Roman Senate was waiting to bestow the title, first for formal action on the part of Macrinus, and then until after the outcome of the battle with Elagabalus.³⁷ Diadumenianus bears the title on coins of Hieropolis,³⁸ Sardis,³⁹ Antioch,⁴⁰ Beroe⁴¹ (as the official mint in Macedonia), Trapezus,⁴² Edessa⁴³ in Macedonia (otherwise known as Aegae), Heracleia,⁴⁴ Thyatira,⁴⁵ Cyzicus⁴⁶ and Perga.⁴⁶ It is also found on an Egyptian papyrus⁴⁷ already mentioned, but never in the inscriptions. This matter will claim our attention again later.

Diadumenianus never received the title of Pontifex Maximus, probably because he never came to Rome.⁴⁸ No trace of the title has been found, either in the inscriptions or coins.

Macrinus was elected to membership in at least two colleges of priests at Rome. We have the record of his election in the "Fasti Sodalium Augustalium Claudialium" (C.I.L. VI, 1984, ll. 13-17), although his name has been erased in great part, for of course his memory was "damnatus." The account of his election in the

³⁶ Cf. Butler *Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus*, p. 53.

³⁷ Cf. Hönn *Quell. z. d. vit. Hel. and Sev. Al.*, p. 9, note 24; also Goebler zur *Münzkunde Makedonikus IV in Zeitschrift für Num.* 24 (1904), p. 294 sq., a valuable article to be referred to again later.

³⁸ B. M. Gal. etc., p. 104.

³⁹ B. M. Lydia, p. 264.

⁴⁰ B. M. Gal., etc., p. 201, also Hunter. III, p. 174, nos. 224 and 225.

⁴¹ I. B. N. G. III, Macedonia, 299.

⁴² Waddington *Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques D'Asia Mineure* (Paris, 1904), I, 1, p. III, no. 25.

⁴³ Leake N. H. E. G., p. 47 and 48, where it is stated that the name Aegae never occurs on the coins but that Edessa is the older name, and where these coins are distinguished from those of Edessa in Mesopotamia. Leake *Numismatica Hellenica and Supplement* (London, 1856 and 1859) will be cited as N. H. E. G. (European) and N. H. A. G. (Asiatic).

⁴⁴ Leake N. H. A. G. Suppl., p. 58.

⁴⁵ Mionnet Suppl. 7, p. 452, 624 cited in P. I. R. II, p. 433.

⁴⁶ See article in *Zeit. für Num.* cited in note 37 above.

⁴⁷ Gk. Pap. B. M. II, p. 93, Pap. CCCLI.

⁴⁸ Cf. Schiller *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit* (Gotha, 1883), p. 761, note 4, and Borghesi, Vol. 3, page 432.

"Fasti sacerdotum in aede Jovis Propugnatoris consistentium" (C.I.L. VI, 2009) has been erased or broken off entirely, but the context makes it evident that it was his election that was here recorded. The action of both bodies probably followed closely upon the acknowledgment of Macrinus as emperor by the Senate.

Macrinus was very lenient in his treatment of Caracalla's relatives.⁴⁹ He allowed his mother, Julia, to remain in Antioch with her sister, Julia Maesa, together with the two daughters of the latter and their sons. This was humane, but the place allotted them as a residence was well adapted for plotting against the new emperor. Julia when she first heard of her son's death planned to starve herself to death for she dreaded to become a private individual after reigning as queen. When she saw, however, that Macrinus was treating her kindly and that her possessions were not to be taken from her, she aspired to the kingdom. The emperor hearing of her efforts ordered her to leave Antioch at once and settle somewhere else—wherever she wished. When Julia realized that her conspiracy was nipped in the bud, she returned to her original intention and starved herself to death. She was further induced to this course by the fact that a cancer, for a long time quiescent, became violent and threatened to end her life soon at any rate. Macrinus sent the rest of the family to Emesa where, among their own kith and kin and in a garrison of discontented soldiers, the Syrian women could sow the seeds of mutiny in fertile soil.

⁴⁹ For sources for this entire paragraph see Dio 78, 23; Herod. IV, 13, 8 to V, 3; Macr. 9, 1 and 2.

CHAPTER V

THE WARS OF MACRINUS

The murder of Caracalla occurred in the midst of a campaign he had undertaken against the Parthians. His pretext was (Dio 78, 1, 1) that the king Artabanus refused to give him his daughter as he had promised. The Parthians were not prepared for war, and Caracalla devastated their country without opposition. As has been said (p. 21) it was during this campaign on a trip he was making from Edessa to Carrhae that he perished.

Meanwhile Artabanus had gotten his army together and came out into Mesopotamia against the Roman invaders, determined to avenge the devastation of his country. Macrinus knew that his own army was not in fighting condition (Dio 78, 26, 2 and 4), and tried to make peace with the Persian king, sending back his prisoners voluntarily and laying the blame of the war on Caracalla, who was now dead. But Artabanus was not so easily persuaded. He was justly enraged at the wrongs perpetrated by Caracalla, and looked upon Macrinus as an upstart whom he could easily handle. Consequently he made hard terms and demanded that the destroyed cities should be rebuilt, and that the Romans should withdraw entirely from Mesopotamia and give satisfaction for the devastation of the royal tombs and for other indignities. Nor did he allow Macrinus time for deliberation but came against him with a large force, including (Herod. IV, 14, 3) cavalry, bowmen and regiments of camels. Herodian (IV, 14) gives the speech of Macrinus to his soldiers on the eve of battle, a speech that has no basis in fact of course. It bears all the ear marks of this class of rhetorical composition. The forces met near Nisibis according to Dio (78, 26, 5). If this be correct, it shows considerable advance on the part of Macrinus, and lends a little color to the "Parthian Victory" to be discussed in this chapter. A glance at the map shows that while Edessa and Carrhae are in the northeastern part of Mesopotamia, only about fifty miles from the Syrian boundary, Nisibis is one hundred and twenty miles farther east, about sixty miles from the

Persian boundary, and less than thirty miles south of Armenia, with which country Macrinus had dealings almost immediately.

Herodian (IV, 14 and 15) gives a vivid account of the battle. The text of Dio (78, 26, 5-8) is here badly mutilated. The *Historia Augusta* (Macr. 8, 3) states briefly: "Sane cum esset inferior in eo bello quod Antoninus gesserat, Artabane graviter necem suorum civium vindicante, primo Macrinus repugnavit; postea vero missis legatis petit pacem, quam libenti animo interfecto Antonino Parthus concessit."

The forces of Artabanus appeared at sunrise, and in accordance with the Persian custom worshipped the sun (Her. IV, 15, 1). Then raising their battle cry they charged the Roman ranks. Dio says that there was a stream in front of the camp and that this was the scene of the battle. He also speaks of a successful charge on the part of the Roman armor bearers and baggage carriers and his account of the battle concludes with the statement that disheartened by the flight of Macrinus they were conquered. But the whole passage (78, 26, 5-8) is so mutilated that we can not draw conclusions from it.¹

Herodian (IV, 15, 1-3) tells us that the Romans repelled the first charge of the barbarians and charged in their turn. The barbarians checked them by hurling missiles down upon them from their horses and camels. The Romans could not stand before them, but were being trampled upon; so they pretended to retreat, hurling about on the sand sharp pointed instruments that lamed the horses and camels and forced their riders to dismount. Then they were no match for the Romans, especially as their loose flowing garments hindered both pursuit and flight.

This did not decide the battle, however. The armies fought for two days from dawn to sunset (Her. IV, 15, 4 and 5), each side returning to the camp at night thinking itself the victor. On the third day the Persians, relying on their superior numbers, tried to surround the Romans, but the latter deployed and prevented this. The heaps of corpses, especially of the camels, impeded the battle movements so that both sides withdrew from the conflict.

¹ Xiphilinus (344, lines 5 and 6) seems to show that Dio told of two different defeats that Macrinus suffered at the hands of Artabanus before he withdrew to Antioch.

Macrinus now turned once more to diplomacy (Her. IV, 15, 6-8). He sent an embassy to Artabanus again emphasizing the fact that Caracalla, who was responsible for the war, was dead; and he again offered to restore prisoners and property.² This time Artabanus looked with more favor on the proposition, for he had no grain depots for his army nor could he satisfy them with cities to pillage, and while he realized his superiority over his enemy, the three days' battle had probably convinced him that the task of defeating the Romans was a harder one than he had imagined. His army, unused to long campaigns, was growing restless and peace was concluded without the imposition of the heavy conditions (p. 33) first made by Artabanus. However, they were heavy enough. Dio (78, 27, 1) states that the total amount of the "gifts" sent by Macrinus to the Persian king and his allies was 50,000,000 drachmas.

Artabanus then returned home while Macrinus took his army back to Antioch (Her. IV, 15, 9). If the above interpretation of the sources is correct,³ one can readily see how easy it would be for Macrinus to do as Dio (78, 27, 3) says he did, and by an incomplete and inaccurate report to the Senate leave the impression that he

² According to Herodian, Artabanus now heard for the first time of the death of Caracalla. In fact he does not mention the first embassy at all. Dio on the other hand represents Macrinus as carrying on negotiations with Artabanus throughout the autumn and winter after his return to Antioch (76:26, 8-27, 3). It seems more probable that Macrinus tried to make peace with Artabanus before he marched against him, but hardly likely that he retreated to Antioch before the arrangements were concluded, and carried on negotiations from that distance. Nor does it seem reasonable that Artabanus would allow his enemy to withdraw without a hot pursuit, and then keep his army in the field during the autumn and winter while parleying about peace with an emperor who had retreated to his own territory with his army and was no longer a source of immediate danger. Herodian's account of an immediate agreement is more reasonable, and fits in better with Dio's own account of the Armenian settlement, which was probably concluded before Macrinus' return to Syria. It is quite possible that some details, as to payments, etc., may have been arranged during the winter by messengers going to and from Antioch, but not the actual peace. On the other hand, there were probably two embassies one before and one after the battle, and the distance between Carrhae and Nisibis is against the theory that this battle occurred so soon after Caracalla's death that Artabanus still thought he was fighting with him.

³ Cf. also Macr. 12, 6 "Pugnavit tamen et contra Parthos et contra Armenios et contra Arabas, quos Eudaemones vocant, non minus fortiter quam feliciter." Lécrivain (pp. 188-9) says, "Dans ce morceau est intercalé, en dehors de sa place, une

had won a victory. The Senate decreed to him sacrifices of thanksgiving and triumphal honors and gave him the appellation Parthicus. However, he did not use this title, although we have coins struck in honor of his "victory."

A number of these coins are definitely inscribed and in other cases the reverse types clearly refer to this occasion. Cohen (IV M, 133-141) gives nine coins bearing the reverse inscription "Victoria Parthica" with the type of Victory advancing or flying, sometimes with diadem or garland, or seated and writing on her shield. There is also one coin (ib., 132) of a similar type inscribed simply "Victoria Aug. S. C." Several of these coins add the titles "P. M. Tr. P. II Cos. II P. P." (Pontifex Maximus Tribunician Power II Consul II Pater Patriae). These must have been coined in the year 218.⁴ There are five other coins in Cohen (IV M, 88, 104-107) that carry the same titles and though they do not state that they were struck in honor of this victory the reverse types make it clear. In all of these, Macrinus is seated in a moving chariot, and is crowned by Victory who stands behind him.⁵

The coins of Moesia Inferior have types that may refer to this "victory," but they are capable of a different interpretation and will be discussed in a later paragraph of this chapter (p. 45). Three coins (Hunt. Col. III, p. 308) from Edessa in Mesopotamia bear

courte mais excellente notice sur les campagnes de Macrin contre les Arméniens et les Arabes (12, 6). Cette notice est en contradiction avec les renseignements d'Herodien et surtout de Dion Cassius, on Macrin fait aux Parthes, pour obtenir la paix, des concessions exorbitantes et accorde aussi de grands avantages au nouveau roi d'Arménie, Tiridate. Mais peut-être Macrin avait-il remporté quelques petits succès." According to the interpretation of Herodian given in the text, Macrinus might well have claimed a drawn battle. Herodian is as nearly in accord with this passage as he is with Dio.

⁴ The exact date of the entrance on the tribunate at this period is uncertain. Cf. Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* 2, 2, p. 800. The fact that Macrinus was a lawyer, and in other respects tried to govern in accordance with constitutional forms, would make it likely that he used the old republican date of Dec. 10 as did Nerva (ib., p. 799). The date for entering on the consulship was the first of January after an emperor's accession (ib., p. 1096). Macrinus had already received consular honors under Caracalla (Dio 78, 13, 1), tho he preferred to disregard them in his list of titles.

⁵ Cohen (IV M, 155n) says the British Museum has a terra cotta mould for a coin of Macrinus that bears the reverse inscription "Marti Propugnatori" with the ordinary type of Mars advancing to the left with spear and trophy. This probably refers to the Parthian campaign.

the reverse inscription OMEΔECCA. The first two letters the editor interprets as *Opellia Macriniana*. If this is correct, they belong to the period just after Macrinus' elevation to power near this very city, for Edessa would have rejoiced in Macrinus' accession brought about by the death of Caracalla, since the latter had treacherously seized the person of their king, Abgarus IX (Dio 77, 12, 1), and transformed Edessa into a colonia. Previous to that time they had had regal coinage.⁶ The likeness of Macrinus shown on the plate (LXXIX, I) in the Hunterian Collection is a very poor one. The same collection (p. 315) has a coin from Nisibis assigned to Macrinus, but I have already pointed out (p. 9) that this is incorrectly attributed to him.

As has already been noted, Macrinus now found it necessary to settle the affairs of Armenia. Here again he had to undo the mischief that Caracalla had done. The king of Armenia had been quarreling with his sons and Caracalla had summoned them to a conference, posing as peace maker. When they arrived, however, they were all made prisoners, Caracalla treating them as he had Abgarus. Tiridates, one of the sons, escaped to the king of Parthia (Dio 77, 19 and 21), who was forced to surrender him again to Caracalla. Macrinus settled Armenian affairs by putting Tiridates on the throne, sending back with him his mother, whom Caracalla had kept a prisoner for eleven months, and the booty that had been taken from Armenia.⁷ Tiridates also hoped to receive the lands that his father had taken in Cappadocia and the yearly payment from the Romans (Dio 78, 27, 4). These matters were undoubtedly arranged near Nisibis immediately after the conclusion of the Parthian campaign and not after the return to Antioch (p. 35, note 2). Disregarding the concessions that Tiridates merely hoped for, Macrinus may be said simply to have righted the wrongs that Caracalla had done, and we can readily see how in his report to the Senate he might make it appear that he had not made a concession

⁶ Cf. Hunter. Col. III, p. 307 and Leake N. H. A. G., p. 53 and N. H. E. G., p. 47. The colonial coinage continued until Gordian when regal coinage was restored. The city was the ancient Ur of the Chaldees. The Macedonians gave it the name of their own ancient capital Edessa.

⁷ It is evident that Tiridates was still in captivity when Macrinus restored him to his father's throne.

but was merely following the ancient and long established custom of the Roman people to employ kings as tools of servitude (Tac. Agr. 14, 2).

In an intercalated passage in the *Historia Augusta*⁸ we are told that Macrinus carried on successful campaigns not only against the Parthians and Armenians but also against the Arabians who are called Eudaemones.⁹ The only other evidence we have on this subject is a reference in the life of Diadumenianus to the "dux Armeniae" and the "legatus Asiae atque Arabiae" (Diad. 84) who are said to have been pardoned by Macrinus on account of ancient friendship, although they had engaged in a conspiracy against him. This is a very dubious reference. It is doubtful whether there ever were any such titles.¹⁰ The statement serves merely to introduce a letter from Diadumenianus to his father. The letter is intended as a reflection on his character and is a palpable forgery. So we may say the reference to the Arabian campaign is entirely unsupported, though not necessarily false on that account.

The authorities agree¹¹ in the statement that, after concluding his campaigns, Macrinus went back to Antioch for the winter. In fact, as has been pointed out already, Dio represents the peace negotiations as having been carried on from that point. It was from there probably that the emperor wrote his official letter to Rome telling the story of his campaigns from his own point of view.¹²

It is probable, however, that before settling down in winter quarters both Macrinus and Diadumenianus made a brief visit to the banks of the Danube. Dio tells us (78, 27, 5) that the Dacians, having plundered a part of Dacia and desiring to fight more, refrained from doing so, and got back the hostages that Caracalla had taken from them under the name of alliance. Neither Herodian nor the *Scriptores* refer to this. Numismatic evidence from Macedonia, Moesia Inferior and Asia Minor strengthened by inscriptional evidence from Pannonia Inferior makes it highly probable that

⁸ Macr. 12, 6, quoted in note 3 on page 35.

⁹ From Arabia Felix, cf. Lewis and Short's Latin Lexicon, s.v.

¹⁰ Cf. Lécivain, p. 33.

¹¹ Dio 78, 26, 8 sq. (mutilated); Her. IV, 15, 9; Macr. 8, 4.

¹² Of course the letter given in Herodian V, 1 is a composition of the author, and not to be credited.

Macrinus went in person to the banks of the Danube to settle matters with the Dacians,¹³ probably doing it by diplomacy rather than war and, as in Parthia, claiming a victory on very doubtful grounds. It is also clear that Diadumenianus accompanied his father.

Macrinus' shortest way to the banks of the Danube and Dacia would have lain through Macedonia. Now we find that the title *νεώκοπος* (aedituus) is given on Macedonian coins for the first time under Macrinus, not at the very beginning of his reign, but on coins made a little later by another hand and bearing the likeness of Diadumenianus. Examination of the coins shows that the word was added to the old dies at the end, and the title is often lost. Macrinus evidently granted this title as a special privilege. We find it on the coins of Beroe "als Provinzialmünzstätte Make-donicus" with the reverse type of a knight on horseback bearing the features of the Prince (I.B.N.G. III, 298-9). A coin of Macrinus from the same mint, while it does not bear the inscription *νεώκοπος*, does have a corresponding reverse type with the Emperor's features (I.B.N.G. III, 297). These figures represent Diadumenianus and Macrinus and should be compared with the coins of Septimius Severus bearing the inscription "Adventus."¹⁴ They were evidently struck in honor of an actual visit by the emperor and his son. Furthermore [both the province of Macedonia and the city state of Edessa are among the few towns to give the title of *ἀντοκράτωρ* to Diadumenianus.

The last paragraph is derived entirely from Goebler. But let us carry the investigation a little further. Comparing once more the list of cities giving Diadumenianus this title, as found on page 31 above and disregarding the Egyptian papyrus there mentioned,¹⁵ we shall find that all of these towns lie on a route that Macrinus and Diadumenianus might well have taken on their way to or from the Danube. Their progress seems to have been marked by the coins struck in their honor, and especially in honor

¹³ This view has been advanced by Goebler in an article cited on page 31, note 37. He bases his argument merely on the use of the title *νεώκοπος* as explained below. As we shall attempt to show, this is only one of a number of arguments leading to the same conclusion.

¹⁴ Cf. Cohen IV (Sept. Sev.), 1-15.

¹⁵ Cf. p. 73 and note 30 for explanation of this papyrus, which is of much later date.

of the prince, as they passed through. We also find two cities that added epithets to their city names as a tribute to the new emperor and both of these lie on his probable route. Let us refer to them briefly in the order of the supposed itinerary. Most of the coins have already been cited on page 31.

Antioch, of course, the headquarters of Macrinus, was the starting point and its mints gave the young prince¹⁶ the title of *Αὐτοκράτωρ*. It seems that the emperor took ship¹⁷ for the first part of his journey, for we find the city of Aegeae,¹⁸ in Cilicia on the gulf of Issos, honoring him by inscribing its coins *Μακρινουπο(λίτων)*. Most of these coins are dated according to the era of the city and some of these dates correspond to 217 and some to 217-218.¹⁹ Evidently the journey was made near the close of the year. Some of these coins are issued in the name of Macrinus and some in the name of Diadumenianus, and one is a double coin bearing the busts of both (B. M. Cilicia, p. 24, no. 27). The other place that recognizes Macrinus in this way is only a little farther on. It is Cilicia's great city, Tarsus. This city, in addition to the title *Σεβήρης*, which it used from the time of Septimius Severus to Severus Alexander, and in addition to various other titles,²⁰ employed the title *Μακρηνιάνης*.²¹ These are the only cities using such titles except Edessa in Mesopotamia, and there is some doubt as to the interpretation in that case (cf. pp. 36 and 37). The other cities giving Diadumenianus the title *Αὐτοκράτωρ* would have been passed in the following order:—Perga (where he may have debarked²² and started

¹⁶ Goebler also cites an unlocated Syrian coin, I. B. G. M. S767, 18.

¹⁷ He may, however, have gone by land from Antioch to Aegeae as he seems to have done when he fled from Elagabalus (cf. p. 74). The mode of travel does not affect the argument.

¹⁸ For the naval importance of Aegeae cf. B. M. Cilicia, p. CXV, where reference is made to a coin of Macrinus showing a lighthouse on top of which is a figure leaning on a spear; below, one or more vessels. Cf. Mionnet III, p. 542, no. 30 and Suppl. VII, p. 158, nos. 37 and 38.

¹⁹ B. M. Cilicia, pp. 24-6; Num. Zeits. XXI, 205; Hunter. Coll. II, p. 526. It is not improbable that Macrinus stopped here both going and returning, and that coins were issued in honor of both events (cf. p. 47).

²⁰ Both of these cities were fond of titles. Cf. B. M. Cilicia, Introd., p. CXII sq.

²¹ I. B. M. G., p. 367; B. M. Cil., p. 200.

²² Perga is about six miles inland and so, strictly speaking, could not have been the exact point of debarkation. It is more probable that the journey from Aegeae through Tarsus to Perga was made by land along a coast road. Tarsus is not on the sea either.

overland,²³ Hieropolis, Sardes, Thyatira (each of the last three at a junction of the roads),²⁴ Cyzicus, the last stop in Asia, and the two Macedonian cities, Beroe and Edessa.²⁵ There remain but two other towns on our list, Heracleia in Bithynia, and Trapezus. The former city, as we shall presently point out (p. 47), might easily have been visited on the return journey, and the example from Trapezus is a dubious one at best.

In this connection we may point out that the only towns outside Macedonia bearing the title *νεώκορος* during Macrinus' reign were Cyzicus²⁶ and Nicomedia.²⁷ These neighboring towns both served as ports for the passage to and from Europe. Macrinus evidently went out by way of Cyzicus and returned by Nicomedia; but of the return journey later.

From Macedonia, if our hypothesis is correct, Macrinus went north to the Danube. Nor are we entirely without evidence on this point. It is a well known fact that at the time of an emperor's visit, often before his arrival, the roads were put in repair. When new roads were built the mile-stones naturally bore the name of the reigning emperor. It is not surprising to find mile-stones in Africa²⁸ bearing the names of Macrinus and Diadumenianus. These are fragmentary and mutilated. Another from Dalmatia (C.I.L. III, 8307) is so badly broken that it is not even certain that it is a mile-stone. From Noricum there are five mile-stones all inscribed "Trib. Pot. II," and hence falling at the very last of 217 or in 218.²⁹ Those

²³ He went through Cibra on the way from Perga to Hieropolis, cf. p. 44.

²⁴ Note that Pergamum, the next natural stopping-point, is not included in our list. Cf. Dio 78, 20, 10 where we find that its inhabitants offended Macrinus and were deprived of privileges granted them by Caracalla, and then because of their insolence deprived of citizenship. It may have happened at this very time. Dio himself was made curator of this city and Smyrna by Macrinus. Cf. p. 56 and Dio 79, 7, 4. Perhaps this may have something to do with his failure to speak of the trip.

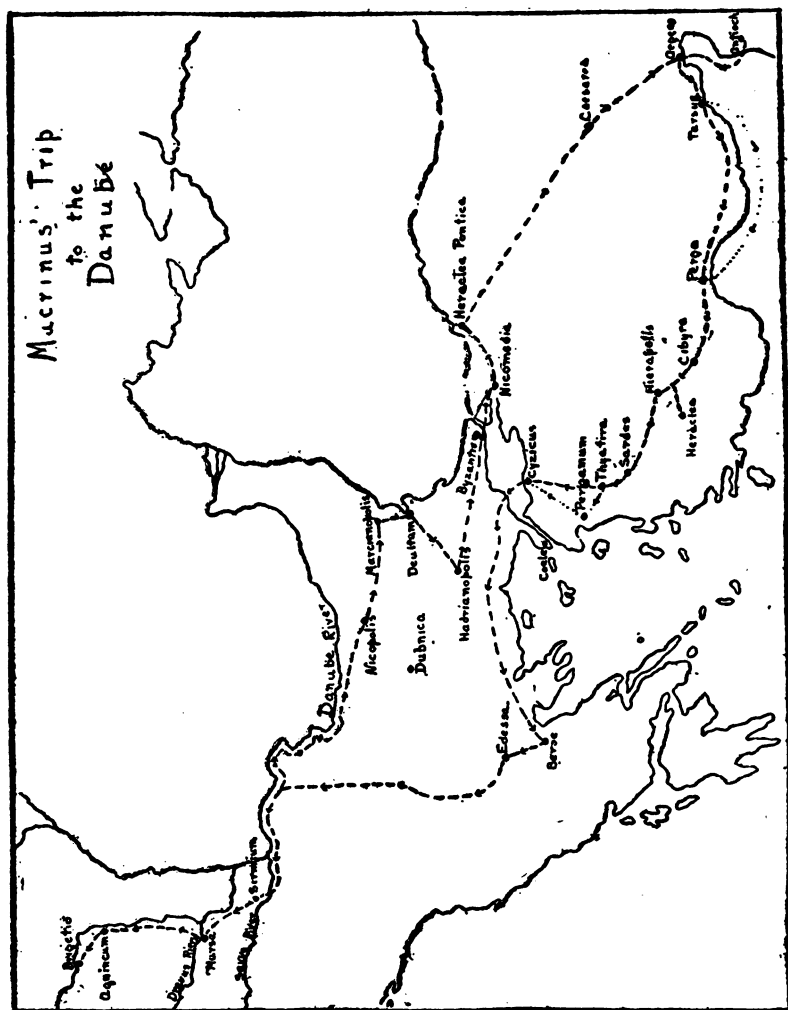
²⁵ See p. 31, note 43.

²⁶ B. M. Mysia, p. 54.

²⁷ B. M. Bith., p. 189; Wadd. I, 3, 266-273; Hunter. II, p. 254; Revue Numismatique (Paris), 1883, pp. 225-6.

²⁸ All but one of these are from the province of Mauretania from which Macrinus came. Cf. p. 61f. with citations.

²⁹ These mile-stones represent four different routes. Cf. p. 61 with citations. As to tribunician power, cf. p. 36, n. 4.



that are legible make no reference to the repair of the roads, but use the word "fecerunt." This work may have been stimulated by the visit to the Danube, although we need not suppose that Macrinus and Diadumenianus got as far west as Noricum. But the point of interest for us is the fact that we have no less than eleven mile-stones from Pannonia Inferior,³⁰ all of them belonging to roads from Aquincum, an important frontier city on the Danube. Ten belong to the road leading south along the Danube to Mursa and Sirmium. One of them is the tenth mile post, another the one hundred and thirty-seventh. In many cases the numerals are lost. This road running along the frontier is precisely the one Macrinus would have been likely to use on such a trip. The eleventh mile-stone was found between Aquincum and Brigetio on the northern extension of the same road, which still follows the Danube frontier.³¹ They are all erected in the names of the two emperors, Diadumenianus being styled *Nobilissimus Caesar*, and so far as legible can be dated in 217 as they bear the title "Trib. Pot.," not "Trib. Pot. II." Most important of all, unlike the mile-stones already cited, they do not refer to the building of roads, but to the repairing of an old one. The regular reading is "vias et pontes vetustate corruptas restituerunt." This fits in well with the theory advanced. This road was repaired in honor of, and probably in preparation for, the visit of Macrinus and Diadumenianus which occurred just at the close of the year 217, and the purpose of this visit was to straighten out the Dacian trouble referred to by Dio.

Macrinus evidently returned from this expedition through Moesia Inferior. We have a great deal of numismatic evidence along this line. In the first place note the large bulk of the Moesian coinage during this reign. As already noted (p. 8) we know of over 350 coins, more than 75 of them double coins with the busts of both Macrinus and Diadumenianus and the rest about evenly divided between the two. All of these coins come from Marcian-

³⁰ C.I.L. III, 3714, 3720, 3724, 3725, 10618, 10629, 10635, 10637, 10644, 10647, 10658. Of course, some of these mile-stones are badly mutilated, and in most cases the names of the emperors have been purposely erased, but comparison among so many verifies the readings.

³¹ Thus out of twenty-one or twenty-two mile-stones bearing the name of Macrinus half are from this one frontier road and the other half are divided among nine roads in four provinces and two continents.

opolis and Nicopolis, the only cities in this province that were allowed to coin under Macrinus.³² Of course a very large number of the ancient coins we now possess have been preserved to us by reason of the common practice of hoarding, and the practice would be especially common in towns near the Danube in constant danger of attack. But this is not a sufficient explanation for finding about two-fifths of all the coins of this reign in these two provincial towns far away from the scene of Macrinus' main activity. He must have been connected with the province in some way.

In the second place note the large number of double coins. As has already been pointed out (p. 8), these cities furnish over 75 of about 90 double coins. All of these come from Marcianopolis which seems to have made a specialty of coins of this character.³³ Of the remaining double coins known, seven are from Antioch,³⁴ Macrinus' headquarters, and one from Aegeae,³⁵ the first stopping place on his journey. Another is from Cibyra³⁶ in Phrygia on the direct route between Perga and Hieropolis. Another comes from Heraclea Salbake³⁷ on a branch road that joins the main road between Cibyra and Hieropolis. Four are found at Caesarea³⁸ in Cappadocia which the emperors probably visited on their return trip (p. 47). The only other double coin that I have found is

³² Cf. I. B. N. G. I, 1, p. 78. The coinage of Lower Moesia was long under Roman control. The exact status of these two cities at this time can not be precisely determined, but they were evidently in a different category from the others. The names of provincial officers are regularly found on these coins.

³³ Cf. I. B. N. G., I, 1, nos. 715-785 and p. 188, note 1; B. M. Moesia Inferior, pp. 32-3.

³⁴ These instead of having the busts or heads facing each other on the obverse, as in the other double coins, have one on one side and one on the other. Cf. B. M. Gal., Cap. etc., p. 200 and Hunt. Coll. III, p. 174.

³⁵ B. M. Cilicia, p. 24.

³⁶ Kleinasiatische Münzen-Imhoof-Blumer, p. 255, no. 22.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 134, no. 10. Very likely a deputation was sent down from this town to salute Macrinus and Diadumenianus as they passed. The reverse of this coin is very appropriate for such an occasion. It represents Macrinus in uniform with patera and spear. Behind him stands the city goddess crowning the emperor. Cf. p. 59 below. There are two coins of Diadumenianus from Aphrodisia that may be accounted for in the same way. This town is on the same branch road beyond Heraclea Salbake. (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 117, no. 22, and Num. Zeits. 43, p. 19, no. 89.)

³⁸ B. M. Gal., Capp., etc., p. 83; Hunter. Coll. II, p. 593.

credited to the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow, although not listed in their catalogue.³⁹ Its provenance is not given, but its types are similar to those of Antioch above referred to, and it probably comes from there. It is clear then that this large issue of double coins in Marcianopolis was due to the presence of the emperors, and that the series of double coins serve to mark their progress on the trip, as in the case of coins bearing the inscription *νεώκοπος*, and those giving Diadumenianus the title *Αὐτοκράτωρ*.

Again, the types on some of the Moesian coins show that the visit to Moesia took place after the settlement of affairs on the Danube, when Macrinus was evidently once more claiming a victory. Three coins of Nicopolis (I.B.N.G. I, 1, 1782-4) represent Macrinus in military garb. In one he is sacrificing, in the other two holding a globe and leaning on his spear. A similar type from Marcianopolis (I.B.N.G. I, 1, 779) shows a small Victory poised over the globe and hovering over Macrinus. These evidently refer to prowess in war and it may be said that they have reference to the "Parthian Victory," but taking them in connection with other types found on these coins it is much more likely that they have to do with contests with the Dacians.⁴⁰

Two coins from Nicopolis⁴¹ have for a reverse type a trophy with two prisoners. Nike stands writing on a shield, and Macrinus stands pointing to the trophy and carrying a spear. This is a more distinct reference to the Dacian settlement, and with the types to be cited later at once reminds one of the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, the bas reliefs on the staircase in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, the Dacian captives on the arch of Septimius Severus and the coinage of the emperors who fought with the barbarians.⁴²

³⁹ Cf. Num. Chron. IV, 6 (1906), p. 109 and (same coin) Gneecchi, Vol. II, p. 78, no. 1.

⁴⁰ Note, however, that even if these coins do commemorate the Parthian campaign, they still bear evidence to the presence of Macrinus in Lower Moesia. Why should these provincials celebrate *that* "victory" on a far away frontier, unless they were in some way brought into association with Macrinus?

⁴¹ I. B. N. G. I, 1, 1711 and 1822. The editors note that the trophy is a common type in Nicopolis, probably local and not a mere borrowing from the Romans, who did not have the additional figures, but see below.

⁴² Cf. Septimius Severus, Cohen IV, 229-235, 360-374, 498-556, 658-664, 724; Marcus Aurelius, Cohen III, 157-171; Trajan, Cohen II, 119-124, 184-189, 529-538.

More definite still is a coin of Diadumenianus (I.B.N.G. I, 1, 1870) from Nicopolis representing on the reverse Macrinus galloping along on a horse, his mantle fluttering in the wind, his spear extended in his right hand. A barbarian kneeling beneath the horse holds up his right hand in submission and supplication. But most interesting of all are two coins from Nicopolis (I.B.N.G. I, 1, 1712-13) representing Macrinus riding in triumph in a chariot drawn by four horses;⁴³ a soldier marches in front with a vexillum, behind is a trophy with two captives at its foot. This evidently represents a triumphal entry of Macrinus into Moesia at the conclusion of his Dacian "war." Imhoof-Blumer (p. 66, note 1) says that this type is a reminiscence of those representing the entry of Septimius Severus into Moesia at the close of the Parthian War, and that it does not refer to a real entry of Macrinus (I.B.N.G. I, 1, p. 344 ff.), but in the light of the evidence presented we conclude that it *does* represent a real entry of Macrinus commemorated by a coinage like that employed to celebrate a like occasion⁴⁴ under Severus.

From Marcianopolis, in the southeastern corner of Moesia Inferior near the Black Sea, Macrinus would naturally return through Thrace. Here again, we can trace his course by the coins. His first stop, and a natural one, was at the seaport of Deultum just across the border in Thrace. Cohen (IV M, 156-168 and D, 25-39) lists thirteen coins of Macrinus from this town and fifteen of Diadumenianus.⁴⁵ The reverse type on one of the latter shows Diadumenianus riding at a gallop and hurling a javelin. Evidently this was a piece struck in his honor at the time of his visit. One of the coins of Macrinus likewise shows him riding a galloping horse. The only other Thracian cities from which we have coins of this

⁴³ On one of the coins Victory stands in the chariot behind Macrinus. Note that almost all the coins bearing types referring to the victory come from Nicopolis and not from Marcianopolis. Macrinus would have reached Nicopolis first as he came from the Dacians, and so this town would have been the first to commemorate the victory in its coinage.

⁴⁴ Cf. Eckhel, Vol. 7, p. 53 for a similar coin of Marcus Aurelius after his Parthian campaign.

⁴⁵ Note the slight preponderance of coins of Diadumenianus over those of Macrinus. Moreover three of these coins of Macrinus give him the title "Pater Augusti" thus calling special attention to Diadumenianus' rank. This title is found nowhere else, either on coins or in inscriptions (cf. Cohen IV M, 166-8. Cf. also p. 60 below, note 49).

period are Hadrianopolis with one coin of Diadumenianus (Leake N. H. E. G., p. 52), and Byzantium with two coins of Diadumenianus (B. M. Thrace, p. 104). The main road south from Deultum runs inland to Hadrianopolis and would have been Macrinus' natural route. Thence the road follows a direct course to the southeast to Byzantium.

There is also an inscription from Thrace that is of interest in this connection. It is a dedication to Macrinus set up by the second cohort of Lucensians "*devota numini eius*" (C.I.L. III, 12339). We find from another inscription that this same cohort was stationed in Moesia Inferior in 105 A.D. (C.I.L. Suppl. III, 3, p. 2027). The corpus states that this stone was found at "*Musibeg a Dubnica*⁴⁶ *septentrionem versus*." Although Diadumenianus is not named, it is noteworthy that the *legatus*⁴⁷ of this legion is called "*legato Augg.*," thus referring indirectly to the young prince. Most of Macrinus' name has been erased, but the identification is not questioned. There are two other monuments extant set up by bodies of soldiers in honor of Diadumenianus; one is in Egypt and the other in Ostia. This is the only one to Macrinus (cf. p. 51f.). Evidently the emperor had had some dealings with this cohort on his way through Thrace.

From Byzantium the party crossed to Nicomedia, one of the few cities honored with the title *νεώκοπος* (p. 41). They probably next visited Heracleia in Bithynia on the coast of the Black Sea, or at least received a deputation from that town for here again we find a coin giving Diadumenianus the title of *Ἀυτοκράτωρ* (Leake N. H. A. G. Suppl. 58). The route south lay through Caesarea (p. 44) in Cappadocia where many roads converge, and here we find four double coins of Macrinus and Diadumenianus. It is probable that they touched at Aegeae again on their homeward journey⁴⁸ (p. 40, note 19).

The large number of coins found throughout Asia Minor tallies well with this theory. Over half of all provincial coins found out-

⁴⁶ The modern Dubnitza, south of Sophia in Bulgaria.

⁴⁷ This *legatus* was still in office in the time of Elagabalus. Cf. C.I.G. 3708.

⁴⁸ It is worth noting that this route through Asia Minor that we have traced for the return journey is in general the one that Macrinus took later when he was fleeing from Elagabalus. Compare Dio 78, 39 where Aegeae of Cilicia is expressly mentioned as the starting point, and the general route is marked out.

side of Moesia Inferior come from this section, and in most cases from towns at no great distance from the routes outlined.⁴⁹

To summarize this argument, we have attempted to prove this trip of Macrinus and Diadumenianus by showing that all coins bearing the title *νεώκορος*, practically all coins calling his son *Αὐτοκράτωρ*, all double coins of Macrinus and Diadumenianus,⁵⁰ all coins (except from Edessa) bearing honorary epithets derived from his name, and all coins from Thrace⁵¹ were coined in cities lying on this itinerary; that the large coinage of Moesia Inferior and the types representing a victory over the barbarians show his presence there after his visit to the Dacian Danube; and that this visit is made more probable by the eleven mile-stones showing the repair of the frontier road in Pannonia Inferior and by the monument set up in Thrace by the Lucensian cohort. Dio refers to the Dacian trouble and speaks of his quarrel with Pergamum, another city on his route, from which we have no coins.

⁴⁹ The most distant towns are Sinope, Amisus and Trapezus on the coast of the Black Sea. There are also coins from Samos and Ephesus on the Aegean. Cf. B. M. Ionia, pp. 378 and 89-90; Kleinasiat. Münz., p. 61, nos. 70 and 71; I. B. Mon. Grecq., p. 286; Leake N. H. A. G., Suppl., p. 51 for Ephesus and Samos. For Sinope see Cohen IV(D), 41; B. M. Paph., p. 101; Wadd. I, 1, 144. For Amisus and Trapezus see Wadd. I, 1, nos. 126-7 and 24-5.

⁵⁰ B. M. Palestine, pp. LXV-LXVI refers to Kubitschek Jahres hefte des Oesterr. Institutes VI (1903), pp. 50 ff. and Beible, p. 91 for a coin of the year 19 city era (218 A.D.) representing Macrinus and Diadumenianus joining hands, but does not state that it is a double coin.

⁵¹ There is one exception to this, a coin from Coele near Sestus on the Thracian Chersonese (Cohen IV M 169). This, however, is so close to the route mapped out that it can hardly be considered an exception.

CHAPTER VI

MACRINUS AS EMPEROR

As stated in the previous chapter, Macrinus spent the winter in Antioch. Herodian (V, 2) says that he made a great mistake in not dismissing his army at once and hastening to Rome, where the people were eager to receive him (Dio 78, 18, 4). Dio tells us (78, 20, 1, 2, 3) that at the celebration of the birthday of Diadumenianus on September 14, the populace at Rome took part in a demonstration proclaiming that they alone of all nations in the world were without rulers, and that stretching out their hands to heaven they implored Jupiter to be their king. Herodian's criticism seems justified, for if after his "Parthian victory" and trip to Dacia, Macrinus had dismissed the army and gone on to Rome, he would have done away with a hot bed of rebellion, and would have had the opportunity of really establishing his authority throughout the empire. His failure to do so was due to a weakness of character and inability to act with quickness and firmness at critical times. This is seen also in his unwise leniency to Julia and the house of Caracalla, and in the whole story of his actions, and failures to act, from the time Elagabalus' conspiracy was formed until his death. Macrinus was a well-meaning man and a man able to fill secondary positions with credit, but he was not of imperial timber.

Authorities agree¹ that the new emperor spent the winter in luxury and effeminacy to the neglect of administrative affairs. His dress was elaborate, and his personal adornments were better fitted to a barbarian court than to the provincial headquarters of a Roman emperor. He imitated Marcus Aurelius in slowness of gait, in speaking in a hesitating manner and in a low tone, and even in the method of trimming his beard.² This course of action was especially ill-advised on the part of one whose title to rule was ques-

¹ Cf. Dio 78, 15, 3; Her. V, 2; Macr. 8, 4.

² Cf. cuts in Duruy, *Histoire des Romains*, pp. 266-7 already cited on page 9, note 17.

tionable, to say the least, and whose predecessor had been idolized by the soldiers on account of the opposite mode of life (Her. IV, 7, and V, 2 ad fin.). Furthermore, those who criticized him and who seemed displeased at his low birth and sudden rise to power were punished. As Dio (78, 15, 4) points out, a modest and unassuming manner would have been better policy for a new emperor of low birth.

The army was restless anyway. Macrinus was not the first nor the last general to find to his cost that the worst thing for military discipline is inactivity and idleness. The soldiers were disappointed that they were not allowed to return to their homes now that peace was made and the war over.³ Why should they be kept in their tents at Antioch? Why should they endure the hardships of camp life while an upstart emperor revelled in luxury? And this emperor was strict and severe with them, savage and cruel in his punishment of the soldiers. The *Historia Augusta* (Macr. 12) devotes a whole chapter to his cruel punishments, most of them inflicted upon soldiers. While we may not give credence to the specific outrages enumearted, we are safe in assuming that there was some basis of fact for the stories.⁴

But the thing that caused the greatest dissatisfaction in the army was Macrinus' efforts at financial reform. The soldiers were deprived of privileges and immunities granted them by Caracalla, and the standard of pay was reduced to the scale followed under Severus.⁵ Macrinus was shrewd enough to provide that the pay of those already in the service should not be reduced, but that the new standards should apply to new recruits. As the latter would enter in small detachments and would all be new to the service, he hoped they would make no trouble, and he did not think the old soldiers would be interested in a matter that did not concern them personally. But as the bulk of them were together in Syria, discontent spread. The old soldiers believed that an exception was made in their favor now from military necessity, but that when they were dispersed

³ Dio 78, 9, 2; Her. V, 2 ad fin.

⁴ Lécivain, p. 188 refers to this chapter as a "tissue of absurdities," and Hönn "Quellenuntersuch. zu den vit. des. Hel. und Sev. Alex.," pp. 15-16 thinks it should be referred to analogous accounts in other biographies. Quite likely some of these stories were due to Elagabalus (cf. Dio 79, 1).

⁵ Dio 78, 9, 2 and 12, 7 and chapters 28 and 29.

their wages too would be reduced. It is not surprising then that the army was mutinous in spirit and ready to substitute another leader for Macrinus, whenever one should appear around whose standard they could rally.⁶ Julia and Elagabalus found ready and willing followers when they launched their conspiracy.

Naturally, there is but little numismatic material referring directly to this period of inactivity. There are about twenty coins, however, that have "Fides exercitus" or "Fides militum" as reverse inscriptions. Some of them are marked as having been struck "Senatus consultu." So far from evidencing the loyalty of the soldiers, such inscriptions may show a lack of confidence in the army, and an attempt to bolster up their loyalty.⁷ The most elaborate of these coins (De Belfort, p. 111), and the only one bearing the inscription "Fides exercitus," represents Macrinus standing on a platform and addressing three soldiers, two of whom carry ensigns. The coin was struck "Senatus consultu" and evidently refers to some real or supposed address of Macrinus to a deputation from the soldiers of his command. The provincial coins of this sort consist of three from Albania (Num. Zeits. 41, p. 41, no. 26), and a number from England, and these probably issued from the Roman mints.⁸ Only one of them is a coin of Diadumenianus, and its obverse inscription reads "M. Opel. Diadumenianus Caes." All but the coin first mentioned in this paragraph bear the inscription "Fides militum" and have as a type Fidelity with helmet and ensigns (slight variants). The first coin clearly represents Macrinus in personal association with his troops. The others may refer to the soldiers throughout the empire.

There are seven inscriptions of more or less importance that have to do with the relations of Macrinus and Diadumenianus to the army. One of them has already been discussed (p. 47) in connection with the trip to the Danube, the monument in Thrace set up by the second Lucensian cohort (C.I.L. III, 12339). Another,

⁶ Dio 78, 9, 3; Her. V, 2 ad fin.

⁷ Not necessarily the army in Syria alone, but the soldiers throughout the empire. But cf. p. 28 and note 20.

⁸ Num. Chron. III, 17 (1897), p. 122; *ibid.*, vol. 18 (1898), p. 164; Cohen IV(M) 21-30; Cohen IV(D) 1. Cf. also p. 28, note 24.

found in Egypt on the island of Elephantine,⁹ was set up to Diadumenianus by the third Cilician cohort under Julius Basilianus, Prefect of Egypt, in what was evidently the chapel of a cantonment of Roman troops in Egypt.¹⁰ Basilianus was appointed Pretorian Prefect by Macrinus at the very last of his reign (Dio 78, 35, 1), and this inscription will be discussed in the next chapter in connection with that matter. It is worth while to notice that this cohort was from Cilicia, a province through which Macrinus passed and not far from his seat of government. (Cf. p. 71.)

A third military dedication of a similar nature and in a like situation was discovered at Ostia in what were evidently the barracks for a detachment of the guards stationed at that place.¹¹ It was carved on the marble base of a statue and dedicated to Diadumenianus. The statue was evidently erected in 217 A.D. before Macrinus entered upon the consulship of 218, for his titles read "M. [Opelli] Severi [Macrini] Pii Felicis Aug. Trib. Potest. Cos. Design II P(atris) P(atriae) Procos." He has held the tribunician power but once, but has the Proconsulate and is consul elect for the second time. This refers to the consular powers given to him by Caracalla, which he himself did not like to acknowledge (Dio 78, 13, 1). The title "Consul Designatus II" occurs nowhere else¹² and was probably used without referring to him and in ignorance of his feelings in the matter. The title Consul II is found frequently on Roman coins, but never from provincial mints.¹³ On inscriptions it appears only on a mile-stone from Africa,¹⁴ a "horologium" in Lower Germany (C.I.L. XIII, 7800) and in a scrawl on a Roman amphora (C.I.L. XV, 4141). Naturally, Rome was the place where the bestowal of the consular ornaments by Caracalla

⁹ Cf. H. Thedenat, "Dans l'île d'Elephantine," *Comptes Rendus d'L'Acad. Inscip.*, 1905, p. 73.

¹⁰ A bas-relief on the walls represents Macrinus with Diadumenianus behind him.

¹¹ Eph. Epig. VII, 1209. For a full description of this excavation see Lanciani, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1888, p. 741.

¹² Consul Designatus appears once on a triumphal arch in Africa, C.I.L. VIII, 4598. Cf. p. 63.

¹³ Cohen IV(M), 89-107, 137-141. Also on certain coins found in England. See p. 28, note 24.

¹⁴ C.I.L. VIII, 21992, but when this stone was first edited (10056), the reading was "Cos et."

would be best remembered, and his later dislike of them might not have been known there until after the coinage was well under way. The tribunician power was assumed immediately upon his accession and a second time regularly, perhaps on December 10 (cf. p. 36, note 4). It is evident that he received the second tribunician power before the consulate, which latter, of course, would begin with the calendar year for "Cos. II" appears only on coins inscribed "Trib. Pot. II," but some with the latter inscription are marked simply "Cos."¹⁵ Roman coins again are the only ones that mark the second tribunician power and the only inscriptions are on milestones from Noricum.¹⁶ It is not surprising that provincial mints were not accurate in regard to these distinctively Roman titles.¹⁷

On the rear wall of the Excubitorium of the seventh cohort of the guards in Trastevere, along with other inscriptions in honor of other imperial personages of about the same period, there is found in large letters an inscription of three words, "Salvo Macrin Imp."¹⁸ This is, of course, the rude work of some individual soldier. A tombstone found near Rome outside the Pincian gate (C.I.L. VI, 3588) marked the grave of a soldier who had served in Noricum¹⁹ in the Macrinian century of a cohort of Asturians.²⁰ This body of troops from northern Spain was probably organized during Macrinus' reign. Other inscriptions from Noricum and Hispania Tarraconensis have to do with Macrinus and will be treated later in this chapter (pp. 60 and 61).

Two statues found in Faesulae (C.I.L. XI, 1543, 1544) in a mutilated condition were set up to Osiris and Isis respectively by a certain "C. Scabillarius Maximus Veteranus" in honor of his brother Marcus who is designated as a veteran of Macrinus. The seventh and last inscription (C.I.L. VI, 32526) relating to Macrinus

¹⁵ Cohen IV(M), 46-52 and 82-88; Weber Sammlung 1940. See also note 13 above.

¹⁶ C.I.L. III, 5708, 5728, 5736, 11833.

¹⁷ Cf. p. 27, note 18.

¹⁸ C.I.L. VI, 3025. Cf. p. 25.

¹⁹ At Claudium Juvavum, the modern Salzburg. C.I.L. III, pp. 668-671 contains the inscriptions from this place. One of them (no. 5539) refers to a cohort of Asturians.

²⁰ Gallaecia and Asturia were definitely constituted as a separate province under Caracalla in 216 A.D. See Jullian "De La Reforme Provinciale Attribue a Diocletien," *Revue Historique* XIX (1882), p. 335.

and the soldiers does not mention him at all, but it must have been erected in his time because it consists of a list of soldiers dismissed after twenty years of service whose terms began in 197-8.

We now turn from military matters to Macrinus' administration of civil affairs. Here as in the army he tried to rule with an iron hand, if we are to believe the *Historia Augusta* (Macr. 11). He is said to have acted thus in a vain effort to hide his own antecedents. Most horrible stories (Macr. 12) are told of the severity of his punishments. He is said to have been especially cruel to slaves (Macr. 13, 3-5), so that his servants referred to him as "Macellinus" instead of Macrinus because his house was a veritable "macellum." Herodian (V, 2 ad init.) confirms his cruelty to slaves. In respect to the other stories we may take the view already expressed (p. 50 and note) in regard to the account in the same chapter of his treatment of the soldiers, namely: that the specific outrages are exaggerated or perhaps invented, but that there was some basis of fact beneath the charges.²¹

In his treatment of informers, Macrinus was strict but just (Dio 78, 21, 1-3). He suppressed them, and made examples of some of the worst ones, but banished them instead of putting them to death lest he himself be accused of doing the very thing for which he was punishing them. To avoid further trouble he did not send any seized correspondence to the Senate after Caracalla's death stating, whether truly or falsely, that no letters of informers had been found. He also banished Lucius Priscillianus (Dio 78, 21, 3, 4) cited by the Senate itself on account of his abuses. Flaccus, however (Dio 78, 22, 1), received the office of "praefectus alimentorum" (p. 55, note 24) as a reward for informing on his predecessor in the office. He pardoned (Dio 78, 12, 1' and 2) those imprisoned for treason and dismissed those awaiting trial. He forbade the killing of Aurelianus,²² whom the Senate hated, for as a Senator he was inviolate. Most of these details are from Dio. Herodian (V, 2) makes the general statement that both Rome itself and the Roman cities were freed of bad men by punishment and exile, and during

²¹ The charges of cruelty brought against Diadumenianus in chapters eight and nine of his life in the *Historia Augusta* are probably concocted to excuse his execution. Cf. Lécivain, p. 266.

²² The text here is mutilated, however, and the full statement can not be made out.

the year of Macrinus' reign men lived in freedom or a semblance of freedom. The letter of Macrinus to the Senate found in Herodian V, 1, makes fair promises of his intention to rule constitutionally and with all respect for the Senate, and very likely the actual letter did express some such intentions. The *Historia Augusta* (Macr. 12, 11), after its rehearsal of his cruelties, contents itself with saying: "Delatores, si non probarent, capite adfecit, si probarent, delato pecuniae praemio infames dimisit." Considering the prejudice against Macrinus on the part of this writer, the above statement may be looked upon as corroboration of Dio and Herodian. Macrinus' severity towards the infamous spies and his lenience to political prisoners and personal enemies (notably his treatment of Julia) show his firm determination to rule strictly, justly and fairly. Herzog thinks the Senate was more independent, and was once more called together by tribunes of the people.²³

The emperor also attempted legal and judicial reforms. He was himself versed in the law and he determined to destroy all the rescripts of the emperors, thinking it a shame that the decisions of such rulers as Commodus and Caracalla should stand as law when such an emperor as Trajan left none whatever (Macr. 13, 1). He restricted the powers of the "iuridici" to their former limits. (Dio 78, 22, 1) They seem to have been acting with enlarged powers since the time of Marcus Aurelius.²⁴

We have evidence of tax reforms too. In his anxiety to raise money Caracalla had increased the taxes on inheritances and manu-

²³ Cf. Herzog *Geschichte und System der Römischen Staatsverfassung* (Leipsic, 1887), 2, p. 481 and note. The view is based on Dio 78, 37, 5, but note that this is mentioned as an exception to the general rule and as a matter of ill omen.

²⁴ The passage in Dio is mutilated, but has to do with the grain distribution. Hirschfeld, *Die Kaiserlichen Verwaltungsbeamten bis auf Diocletian* (Berlin, 1905), pp. 219-220 and notes, thinks that Macrinus took away from the "iuridici" the control of the grain, which had probably been granted them under Marcus Aurelius, and gave it to the "curatores viarum," and that the grain control had been under the management of a consular "praefectus alimentorum" during this period but was now turned over again to district officers. Mommsen (*Staatsrecht*, II, 2, p. 1080 Rem. 3), thinks Hirschfeld's proof of the existence of a national "praefectus alimentorum" from the time of Marcus Aurelius to Macrinus is insufficient. Cf. however C.I.L. V, 7783, cited by Hirschfeld, which shows such an officer under Severus. He points out that this title is not heard of hereafter. Macr. 13, 2 speaks of Macrinus' generosity in the distribution of grain. Cf. p. 59 for a coin with the inscription "Annona Augusti."

missions from one-twentieth to one-tenth (Dio 77, 9, 4). In the case of inheritances he had also suppressed the immunity granted to near relatives by his predecessors, reserving to himself the right of according these favors, and undoubtedly selling them. The tax on manumissions was intended to discourage the freeing of slaves as well as to provide a source of revenue. Macrinus put both of these taxes back at the old rates.²⁵ No more is heard of the tax on manumissions. Probably both imposts were withdrawn by Diocletian.²⁶ It will be seen, then, that while Macrinus endeavored to put the State on a sound financial basis by lowering the pay of the soldiers he also lowered taxes that he considered exorbitant. He discouraged needless waste of gold and silver in statues of himself, decreeing that there should be none made in gold larger than three pounds nor of more than five pounds weight in silver. (Dio 78, 12, 7) In this connection may be mentioned his refusal to allow public shows in honor of his accession, for he said that the day was already marked by the birthday celebration of Severus. (Dio 78, 17, 1) In this case, however, the economic aspect may not have had so much to do with his action as the desire to link himself with the family of Severus (p. 25). Games were held in honor of the birthday of Diadumenianus on the fourteenth of September (Dio 78, 20, 1).

Dio gives considerable space to Macrinus' official appointments and is quite critical. This is not surprising for Dio himself was one of his appointees and while he had first hand information, he is open to the charge of official jealousy. He was made curator of Smyrna and Pergamum by Macrinus,²⁷ and was still holding that position at the beginning of Elagabalus' reign.

His main criticisms of Macrinus' appointments are that he made them rewards for personal services rendered to himself rather than

²⁵ Dio 78, 12, 2. Cf. *ibid.*, 18, 5.

²⁶ On this whole subject compare cognat, *Etude Historique sur les Impôts Indirects chez les Romains* (Paris, 1882), pp. 155, 189-190. Also Hirschfield, *Verwaltungsbeamten*, pp. 97-8 and 106, and citations there.

²⁷ Dio 78, 38, 2; 79, 7, 4; 79, 18, 3. See page 41 above, note 24. Also cf. Wirth *Questiones Severianae*, (Leipsic 1888), p. 57. Wirth's conclusion that Dio did not leave Rome for his province until after the uprising of Elagabalus, based as it is merely on a verb in the first person plural is not justified. (Cf. Butler *Studies in Life of Heliogabalus*, pp. 49-50.)

rewards of merit, and that he appointed to high office men of low rank as a means of obscuring his own low origin.²⁸ His very first appointment was that of his colleague, Oclatinus Adventus to be prefect of the city. As has already been pointed out (pp. 22-23 and note), this was done merely to get rid of a dangerous rival. He was utterly incompetent, with no education, an old man, and almost blind. He could not make a public speech and so absented himself from the Senate on the day for the election of magistrates on the ground that he was ill. (Dio 78, 14, 1 and 2) Macrinus soon removed him and put²⁹ Marius Maximus in his place, but this was adding insult to injury, for Maximus had not yet held the consulship and was made ruler of the city before he was a Senator. (Dio 78, 14, 3)

The Emperor was also criticized (Dio 78, 15, 1) for appointing as praetorian prefects, in place of himself and Adventus, Ulpianus Julianus and Julianus Nestor, men (according to Dio) without virtue or experience and notorious for their actions in Caracalla's reign. He raised some men to the consulship and at once sent them out as governors. (Dio 78, 13, 1) "A certain" Domitius Florus (Dio 78, 22, 2), formerly clerk of the Senate and a candidate for aedile, who had fallen with Plautianus, was made tribune. Very likely he was a personal friend of the new emperor, who himself had been a follower of Plautianus. (p. 16) He recalled Sabinus and Castinus (Dio 78, 13, 2) from Pannonia and Dacia, on the pretext that he desired to consult them, but in reality because he suspected them on account of their former friendship for Caracalla. As successors to them he sent (Dio 78, 13, 2 and 3) Marcus Agrippa to Pannonia and then to Dacia and Decius Triccius to Pannonia. The former was of servile birth and had suffered banishment under Severus. Triccius had seen service in the Pannonian ranks and then became doorkeeper for the governor and ruler of the Albanian camp. Faustus Anicius was sent to Asia in place of Asper. (Dio 78, 22, 3 and 4) The latter had been in high favor with Macrinus

²⁸ Dio 78, 13, 1 and 14, 4. Cf. p. 50.

²⁹ Some have thought that this is the same person as Marius Maximus the historian, but it is not at all certain. Cf. Lécivain, p. 193; Butler, p. 13; P. I. R. II, p. 346, no 233; Plew, *Kritische Beiträge zu den S. H. A.* (1885), pp. 30 and 31; and authorities cited in above references.

until he heard bad reports concerning him, when he recalled him summarily before he could reach his province. Macrinus refused to send Aufidius Fronto to Africa, although the provincials asked for him, or to Asia, offering him the salary to remain at home. Fronto refused this, saying he wished the office and not the money. Basilianus, Prefect of Egypt, and later Pretorian Prefect, will be discussed in the next chapter. The coins give us the names of a number of provincial officials: Aelius Zosimus, M. Aurelius Diadochus and T. Julius Alcimachus in Lydia;³⁰ Varius Phoebus in Mysia;³¹ Demetrius Celer in Phrygia;³² Pontianus, Agrippa and Statius Longinus in Lower Moesia.³³ Inscriptions give us the names of other officials of more or less importance who held office under Macrinus, but not of necessity owing their position to him.³⁴ This subject, however, is outside the scope of this paper, except in so far as it affects the question of the emperor's general policy in regard to appointments as discussed at the beginning of this paragraph, so we shall not attempt to make a list of Macrinus' subordinates.

Let us consider the coins bearing on the civil administration of Macrinus. The title *Pater Patriae* is very common on the Roman³⁵ coins, always preceded by the pontifical and tribunician and usually by the consular title. It is also found in Greek characters on several coins from Antioch,³⁶ and on one from Heliopolis in Coelo-Syria.³⁷ This, however, is probably nothing but a formal title

³⁰ B. M. Lydia, pp. 197, 312, 264.

³¹ B. M. Mysia, p. 54.

³² B. M. Phrygia, p. 169.

³³ I. B. N. G. I, 1, 1679-1785, etc. No coins of Diadumenianus have as yet been found with Pontianus' name, but this does not prove he was the first of the three governors. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 457, foot note to no. 1791.

³⁴ E. g., C.I.L. III, 12339; VIII, 22628, et al. Many of Macrinus' officers held over into Elagabalus' reign. Comparatively few of them offered resistance to the new ruler. Cf. Hay, *The Amazing Emperor Heliogabalus* (London, 1911), pp. 88-91 and Butler pp. 65-8.

³⁵ Cohen IV(M), 45, etc. As before, we include here coins found in Albania, England and Egypt. Cf. Num. Zeits. 41, p. 41, no. 65; Num. Chron. III, 18 (1898), p. 164; *ibid.* IV, 2(1902), p. 351.

³⁶ B. M. Gal., Capp. etc., p. 199, nos. 391 and 392 and p. 200, no. 400; also Leake N. H. A. G., p. 18 a.

³⁷ Hunter. Coll. III, p. 221, no. 5.

bestowed as a matter of course with little thought as to its meaning. It is also found on the marble base at Ostia already mentioned (p. 52), on mile-stones from Noricum and Africa (p. 61) and on the triumphal arch in Numidia (p. 63). Twice he is given the title "Providentissimus" which would seem to imply wisdom and foresight in administration. On a mile-stone from Noricum (C.I.L. III, 5708) he and Diadumenianus are designated "Providentissimi Augusti," and on the triumphal arch in Numidia he is termed "Providentissimus et Sanctissimus Princeps." Of course this is mere fulsome flattery, yet it shows what his friends thought or professed to think of his administration. A number of coins celebrate his justice with the inscription "Aequitas Aug." and a figure of Justice.³⁸ Several others bear the inscription "Annona Augusti"³⁹ with the figure of Abundance bearing her horn of plenty, referring perhaps to a reorganization of the system of grain distribution. One coin is gratefully inscribed "Restitutor Urbis." (Cohen IV M, 112) The type is that of Macrinus sacrificing.

The reverse types in a number of instances show Macrinus with symbols of world power and dominion.⁴⁰ In some he is sitting upon a curule chair with globe⁴¹ and scepter, in others standing, holding a globe and leaning on his spear. In still others he is sacrificing. Two coins from Asia Minor⁴² show him with a goddess. In one of them he is crowning Tyche, in the other the city goddess of Heracleia Salbake is crowning him. The latter is a double coin of a special issue.⁴³

In other cases gratitude is expressed to the gods, presumably for having set Macrinus over the State. Of this class are those inscribed "Providentia Deorum" with the figure of Providence.⁴⁴

³⁸ Num. Chron. III, 18, p. 163 and III, 17, p. 122; Cohen IV(M), 2-7. The type is found on many other coins.

³⁹ Num. Chron. III, 18, p. 163; Cohen IV(M), 8-12; DeBelfort, p. 110, no. 2872. Cf. p. 55, note. This type, found on a number of other Roman coins, has a list of Macrinus' titles in all but one example, and there the type is doubtful (Cf. Wadd. I, 3, 549).

⁴⁰ Cohen IV(M), 51-2; I. B. N. G. I, 1, 1783, 1782, 778.

⁴¹ In one case a small Victory is flying towards him from above the globe (I. B. N. G. I, 1, 779).

⁴² B. M. Cilicia, p. 135; Kleinas. Münz. (Caria), p. 134.

⁴³ Cf. p. 44, note 37 for a discussion of this coin.

⁴⁴ Cohen IV(M), 108-111; Num. Zeits. 41, p. 41, no. 108, etc.

Others read "Jovi Conservatori," and show Jupiter with thunderbolt and scepter, sometimes accompanied by Macrinus.⁴⁵ Jupiter and Macrinus are also shown together⁴⁶ in two coins bearing the words "Vota Publica" with the official titles. The same "Vota Publica" are expressed in behalf of Macrinus on a number of coins portraying Fidelitas, Felicitas, Salus and Securitas.⁴⁷ These later types are often accompanied by other inscriptions intended to call attention to the happy condition of the State, as for example, "Fides Publica," "Felicitas Temporum," "Salus Publica," "Securitas Temporum."⁴⁸ The hope felt on account of the promised succession of Diadumenianus is expressed in the type of Spes, found on his coins only and not on those of Macrinus and in the accompanying inscriptions "Spes" and "Spes Publica" (Cohen IV D, 19-24). Three coins from Laodicea ad Mare in Seleucia are inscribed "Romae Felicitas" and represent Romulus and Remus being fed by the wolf.⁴⁹

We have already referred to the mile-stones set up during Macrinus' reign, and especially to the eleven stones from Pannonia Inferior marking the road along the Danube frontier (pp. 41-43). Only one of the five from the continent of Africa is outside of the province of Mauretania, the old home of Macrinus. In Europe outside of Pannonia Inferior all but two are from the neighboring province of Noricum. The exceptions are a mere fragment from Dalmatia,⁵⁰ and one from Hispania Tarraconensis.

⁴⁵ Cohen IV(M), 32-40.

⁴⁶ Cohen IV(M), 142-3.

⁴⁷ Cohen IV(M), 144-155; DeBelfort, p. 110.

⁴⁸ Cohen IV(M), 31, 14-20, 113-120, 121-131.

⁴⁹ Cohen IV(M), 175; B. M. Gal., Capp. etc., p. 261; Hunter. Coll. III, p. 207, no. 38. The only other coins of Macrinus having this type are three of those from Deultum, Thrace (p. 46). Thus this distinctively Roman type is found only in two provincial seaports. The story had probably been brought there but recently and still seemed fresh. They tried to Romanize their coins in Macrinus' honor. In this connection we may note that the type Roma does not appear on coins of this reign from Rome, and only on two or three from the provinces. One of these from Edessa (Aegae), Macedonia, (Leake N. H. E. G., p. 48), represents her seated and being crowned by Fortune. A double coin, also from Macedonia, (I. B. N. G. I, 1, 738), is somewhat similar, but she is being crowned by a small Victory held in her right hand. The third example, from Samaria, is not positively identified as Roma (B. M. Samaria, Neapolis, p. XXXII). Here again we see a Romanizing of the coins.

⁵⁰ C.I.L. III, 8307 (cf. *ibid.*, p. 2255). Scarcely legible. Some doubt even as to whether it is a mile-stone.

As already pointed out (p. 41), the mile-stones from Noricum are all dated near the close of the year 217 or in 218, and represent work done after Macrinus' visit to the Danube. Two of them belong to a road leading from Celeia near the eastern border of the province into Pannonia Inferior to the town of Poetovio.⁵¹ One is the 56th mile-stone on the road from Aquantum into Raetia (C.I.L. III, 5708), and another comes from another road leading from Aquantum to Teurnia and Virunum (C.I.L. III, 11833). The remaining mile-stone from Noricum is the fifteenth on the road north from Virunum to the town of Ovilava near the Danube (C.I.L. III, 5728). The stone from Hispania Tarraconensis (C.I.L. II, 4789) is chiefly notable for giving to Macrinus the title "Invicto et Magno." It does not give the number of miles nor the place from which the distance is measured, and so can not be definitely located.⁵²

All of the mile-stones from Africa are mutilated or fragmentary. There is one from the province of Africa, found near Thurris and dated in 218.⁵³ This was a town on the main road between Carthage and Theveste. It is evident, however, that this stone does not belong to the main road, but to a branch road built in the reign of Macrinus, for it reads "viam stratam nov(am) instituerunt," and the number of the stone (XIV) does not correspond to the distance between Thurris and any town of importance on the main road. Furthermore, as is pointed out by the corpus, the latter road was built by Hadrian and had just been repaired by Caracalla.⁵⁴

The rest of the mile-stones are from Mauretania. One was found about two miles south of Tipasa, a coast town close to Macrinus' home, Caesarea (C.I.L. VIII, 22562). Two were further west on the road from Pomarium to Numerum Syrorum (C.I.L. VIII, 10464,

⁵¹ C.I.L. III, 5736, 11841. No. 5736 was found with eight others all marking the sixth mile from Celeia, and bearing the names of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian and Severus, some of them illegible. This one has an interpolated line of doubtful meaning, but the names and titles of Macrinus and his son are distinct. Possibly C.I.L. III, p. 1049, no. 5737 also belongs to this time and place.

⁵² C.I.L. II, 4790 is also thought to belong to this reign, but it is too badly mutilated to be positively identified, or to be of any value if it could be identified.

⁵³ C.I.L. VIII, 21992 (10056), cf. p. 52 above and note.

⁵⁴ Cf. C.I.L. VIII, pp. 865 and 2092. This road was again repaired under Maximinus twenty years afterwards. Cf. C.I.L. VIII, 10047, 22056, etc., cited on p. 2092, where we read "viam a Karthagine usque ad finis Numidae provinciae longa incuria corruptam atque dilapsam."

22626), although one of these may refer to Alexander Severus instead, and the last one belongs to a road that led from Numerum Syrorum along the right bank of the river Siga to the coast at Siga. (C.I.L. VIII, 22628)

To sum up then, we have inscriptional evidence of the repair of the frontier road along the Danube in Pannonia Inferior in 217, probably in preparation for the visit of Macrinus; of work on four roads in the neighboring province of Noricum after his visit to the Danube; of work on three roads in his home province of Mauretania; of the building of a new branch road joining the main road from Carthage to Theveste near Thurris in the province of Africa; and perhaps of the improving or making of a road in Dalmatia.

A number of other inscriptions of less importance belonging to this period may be mentioned briefly. There is one from Dalmatia (C.I.L. III, 12733) telling of the rebuilding of a *macellum*⁵⁵ destroyed by fire, under the direction of Valerius Super, "procurator argentariarum" under Macrinus. Another (p. 52), mutilated purposely, tells of the repair of a *horologium* by a subordinate official in Lower Germany in the year 218. (C.I.L. XIII, 7800) An altar to Juno in the Vatican museum (C.I.L. VI, 367) has on one side the inscription "Dedic(avit) Pr. Id. Mart. Imp. [Macri] n [o] Aug. cos. et Oclatinio Advento." This was only a month or two before the uprising of Elagabalus.⁵⁶ The lead pipes referred to in a previous chapter (p. 25 and note) may be mentioned here. There are two examples (C.I.L. XV, 7238, 7331), probably from the same aqueduct, found on the site of the old pretorian camp, one of them bearing the words "castris praetoris." Several amphorae from Monte Testaccio have the date of the consulship of Macrinus and Adventus scrawled on them.⁵⁷ Three papyri, two of them bearing the name of Diadumenianus as well as that of Macrinus, have been found in Egypt. They are tax, labor and grain receipts, and two of them are dated after the death of the emperor.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ It is interesting to note Hist. Aug. Macr. 13, 3, though of course there is no connection.

⁵⁶ There is another altar found in Germany set up in this reign, and from this, too, his name has been erased. Cf. Rev. Arch., 1911, p. 504, no. 155.

⁵⁷ C.I.L. XV, 4108, 4109, 4110, 4141.

⁵⁸ See next chapter, pages 72-73.

Besides this indirect inscriptional evidence regarding Macrinus' reign, certain monuments and memorials were erected in various parts of the empire in honor of himself and of his son. We know of one to Macrinus and Diadumenianus in Africa, of one to Macrinus alone in Boeotia, and of four to Diadumenianus in Gallia Narbonensis,* Germania Inferior, Sicily and Umbria, respectively. This covers the empire pretty thoroughly.

By far the most important of these is a triumphal arch⁵⁹ still standing at Zana in Algeria (the ancient Diana in Numidia) set up by that city in honor of Macrinus and Diadumenianus. The inscription itself has been broken into sixteen fragments only one of which remains on the arch, but it may be patched together and read in its entirety. Part of the titles have been erased purposely. The arch was erected in 217, for Macrinus is denominated Cos. Designatus. As this is the most noteworthy monument⁶⁰ of the reign of Macrinus, we give the inscription in full:

Imp. Caes. M. Opellio Severo Macrino Pio Felici Aug. Pon[t]
Max. Trib. Po[tes]t. Cos. Desig. P(atri) P(atriciae) Procos. Provi-
dentissimo et Sanctissimo Principi et [M. Opellio] Antonino Diadu-
meniano Nobilissimo Caesari Principi Juventatis respu[blica]
Dianensium ex dec(reto) dec(urionum).

Diana was only a little ways from the borders of Mauretania, and here again we have evidence of the African origin of Macrinus.

The other memorials to Macrinus and his son are less pretentious. At Chaeronea in Boeotia on a marble shrine there is a dedication to Macrinus by the Senate and people of that place in which the Emperor is entitled "*τὸν μέγιστον* (or *τὸν δσιώτατον* according to the earlier reading) *καὶ θειώτατον*."⁶¹

Another marble monument was found in Umbria at Forum Sempronina near the Flaminian Way (C.I.L. XI, 6116). It was set

⁵⁹ C.I.L. VIII, 4598. For a cut of this arch see Duruy, *Histoire des Romains* VI, p. 273, and for a description of excavations at Zana see Renier, *Ruines de Zana* (Rev. Arch. 1852(1), pp. 38-45). As suggested in the latter article, the reason for the sparing of the titles Severus and Antoninus was that Elagabalus also bore those titles. Cf. p. 76 and note 39.

⁶⁰ It is not correct to say that it is the only one as do Duruy (VI, 272) and Hay (p. 75).

⁶¹ C.I.G. I, v, 1620 (Re-edited in *Inscr. Graec.* 7, 3420).

up at public expense in honor of Diadumenianus, whose name and titles have not been erased.⁶² A memorial of like character (C.I.L. XII, 5828) was erected by the inhabitants of Cabellio in Gallia Narbonensis. A piece of sandstone, the surface covered with a calcareous deposit, was discovered in Germania Superior with a fragmentary dedication to Diadumenianus (C.I.L. XIII, 7379), and in Palermo, Sicily, there is an almost illegible inscription in his honor (C.I.L. X, 7280.)

⁶² Cf. *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1884, p. 211.

CHAPTER VII

THE OVERTHROW OF MACRINUS

There is naturally but little inscriptional and numismatic evidence for the period of the overthrow of Macrinus and the rise of Elagabalus. We have, however, full accounts in Dio and Herodian,¹ a brief summary in the *Scriptores* (Macr. 8, 4-10, 10), an inscription and three papyri from Egypt, and some inscriptions and coins of Elagabalus relating to his victory over Macrinus and to his admission to the Arval brotherhood and to other colleges of priests.

Reference has already been made (p. 32) to the lenient treatment accorded to the relatives of Caracalla, and to the anger of the soldiers at the attempt to reduce the pay of the new recruits. (p. 50f.) To the people of Rome Macrinus was an absentee emperor for whom, to say the least, there was no enthusiasm. (p. 49) The time was ripe for revolt.

After the death of Julia Domna, her sister Julia Maesa and the two daughters of the latter, Soaemias and Mamaea, with their sons were relegated to Emesa by Macrinus (Her. V, 3 ad. init.) This was very poor policy. Emesa was Julia's native place where she could exercise the greatest possible influence. It was far enough away from Antioch to render detection unlikely. Julia had accumulated great wealth while at court and this was left untouched (Macr. 9, 1), so she had plenty of resources for bribery and for instigating and financing a revolt. Furthermore, the troops were close at hand in winter quarters, chafing under their restrictions and longing to be released and sent home. Now there was a magnificent temple of the Sun at Emesa, visited not only by the citizens, but by the soldiers from the neighboring encampment. Julia secured the appointment of her grandson, Bassianus, as priest of the god. He was about four-

¹ Dio 78, 30-41, Herod. V, 3, 4. Modern descriptions of this period are based almost entirely on the text of these two authors and are often mere paraphrases of them. It seems superfluous to repeat the story in great detail here. Cf. especially Butler, p. 43 ff. and Hay, ch. III.

teen years old and exceedingly handsome.² His costume was of barbaric splendor and dazzled the eyes of the uncouth soldiers. He became at once the idol of the army. Julia was quick to see her chance. She pointed out a marked resemblance in his features to Caracalla (Macr. 9, 4 ff.), dressed him in clothes such as Caracalla had worn (Dio 78, 31, 3), and sacrificing her daughter's reputation, if she had any to be sacrificed, she spread the report that Bassianus was really an illegitimate son of Caracalla. This may have been true, but whether true or not it had the desired effect. Maesa's money, of course, made it easier to believe the story. A conspiracy was formed to take the young prince into the camp and have him proclaimed emperor. The admiring soldiers could be trusted to espouse his cause and defend his person.

Herodian (V, 3) makes Maesa the prime mover in the plot from beginning to end. Dio (78, 31, 1 and 4) represents Eutychianus³ as the actual leader and states that he and Bassianus went to the camp by night without the knowledge of Maesa or Soaemias. Herodian (V, 3 ad fin.) says the whole family was received in the camp one night together with sympathizers from the surrounding country and that preparations were at once made to resist the impending attack of Macrinus. Herodian's account seems more plausible, though it is quite probable that Eutychianus may have acted as go-between, and may have made more than one preliminary trip. At any rate, at dawn the next day Bassianus was proclaimed emperor by the soldiers.

This date is definitely fixed by Dio (78, 31, 4) as the sixteenth of May, but his statement is by no means accepted without question. Wirth⁴ held that this date was impossible and that it was due to a mistake on Dio's part, the word May having been written for April. He based his conclusions, first, on the statement of Dio that an eclipse occurred "*ὑπὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνας*" (Dio 78, 30, 1). This eclipse, astronomers tell us, fell on the 12th of April. A month would be too long a period to suit the Greek phrase. Second, it is strange that troops should still be in winter quarters in May. Third, if the proclamation of Elagabalus was not made until May, Dio would not have

² Almost all this account is drawn from Her. V, 3.

³ For Eutychianus cf. Butler, p. 47 note, with references there cited.

⁴ Wirth, *Quaestiones Severianae*, p. 40, and citations.

heard of it in Rome soon enough to leave Rome and get to his province before hearing of the death of Macrinus. In that case, he would not have gone on to his province. Wirth thinks that the war lasted almost two months and that the mss. reading should be July instead of June in the passage where the date of the battle is given (Dio 78, 39, 1). Dio relied on his memory and got both dates wrong.⁵ This theory has been accepted by Goyau⁶ and by Hay⁷ as far as the date of the uprising is concerned, but is opposed by Butler,⁸ who upholds Dio's date. She shows that Wirth has laid too much stress on the immediacy of the Greek phrase already quoted; that "we are expressly told that the encampment was longer than usual" and that it could hardly be called winter quarters anyway; and that the argument in regard to Dio's trip to his province rests entirely on "the use of a verb in the first person plural." (cf. p. 56 above, note 27) Furthermore she cites as conclusive evidence an inscription⁹ already referred to in which Basilianus is named as Prefect of Egypt. As Dio (78, 35) represents him as still in charge in Egypt when the news of the defeat of Macrinus arrives, and yet as having been made the successor of Ulpius Julianus as Pretorian Prefect on the latter's death, it is incredible that he should have waited in Egypt from the last of April until July, at least two full months, without attempting to assume the command.¹⁰ On the other hand, if Dio's date is correct the news of the promotion would have been quickly followed by the report of the defeat of Macrinus on the 8th of June and Basilianus would naturally have waited in Egypt for instructions. These are strong answers to weak arguments and have the advantage of being in support of a received text and not an attempt to establish a proposed reading. And yet the proof is not wholly satisfactory. Hay (pp. 67-69) supports Wirth's theory by additional and much stronger arguments. He points out that the period from May 16 to June 8, the date of the battle, is

⁵ This latter suggestion has not met with favor. A double mistake of this sort would be a coincidence, to say the least.

⁶ Cf. Goyau, *Chronologie de L'Empire Romain* (Paris, 1891), p. 268.

⁷ Cf. Hay, pp. 55, 67-69.

⁸ Cf. Butler, pp. 48-51 with citations.

⁹ Thedenat, *Comptes Rendus de L'Academie des Inscr.* 1905, p. 73. Cf. pp. 52 and 71.

¹⁰ Cf. however, note 13, and pages 71 and 72 and notes.

entirely too short for all the events that must be crowded into it.¹¹ The news must be brought from Emesa to Macrinus at Antioch, a journey of 125 miles. He must send¹² Julianus with picked troops to quell the mutiny. The Emperor must then go to Apamea, declare Diadumenianus "Imperator" and attempt to pacify the troops. He must send two letters to the Senate, one telling of the revolt the other of his son's accession. He then retires to Antioch. The forces of his rival are increased by continual accessions until finally they are strong enough to take the field, and they actually advance almost to Antioch before the battle. Hay clinches his argument by reference to an entry in the records of the Arval Brothers (C.I.L. VI, 2104) that shows that body considering the admission of Elagabalus on the 30th of May, when it would have been utterly impossible for news of a revolt on May 16 to have reached Rome. Butler (pp. 57-63) disposes of this inscription by inserting a new date where the stone is broken and by making the entry for May 30 end with the preceding sentence. Of course the date supplied is one that meets all requirements. To say the least, however, this is heroic treatment. The case is one that is hard to decide. Dio's date seems almost impossible when one considers all that must transpire between the proclamation of the new emperor and the decisive battle. On the other hand, the delay of Basilianus in Egypt from April to July is hard to explain.¹³ Nor does it seem likely that Dio would have made a mistake of a month in a date closely connected with his own career. Perhaps the trouble arises from a scribe's error. After surveying the evidence we may conclude that Dio's date is untenable, but that Wirth's date is not established. The matter is still in doubt.

To return to the narrative. Julianus, the pretorian prefect, happened to be near (Dio 78, 31, 4) and at once attacked the camp,

¹¹ These arguments, of course, Wirth could not use after advocating the reading of July for June as the date of the battle.

¹² This is Herodian's (V, 4 ad init.) account. It should be noted in opposition to this that Dio represents Julianus as being near the place by chance when the revolt started and as taking the first steps to quell it on his own initiative without consulting the emperor. These details will be treated more fully in the following pages.

¹³ Cf., however, pages 71 and 72 and notes where it is shown that the appointment may not have been made promptly, and that Basilianus' successor may have been on hand, but that they may have hesitated to make the change when trouble was brewing in the province.

first executing some suspects whom he had in his power. He might have taken the camp that night, but did not do so. Perhaps, says Dio (78, 32, 1), he was afraid to go in or perhaps he hoped for a voluntary surrender. At any rate, during the night the gates that had been broken were repaired and the garrison successfully resisted the attack when it was renewed the next morning. (Dio 78, 32, 2) We accept this account rather than Herodian's statement (V, 4 ad init.) that the news was first sent to Macrinus and that Julianus was then sent to quell the revolt, because it is more specific and seems less like an invention. Furthermore, Herodian's chief interest seems to lie in the descriptive passages and he passes over the connecting links quite hurriedly. It is worth noticing too that Dio (78, 32, 1) states that Moorish forces made the attack on the first day and fought with vigor for their fellow-countryman.

Then those in charge of Elagabalus' campaign resorted to a "peace offensive."¹⁴ The soldiers from within displayed to their comrades who were besieging them the purses of money that they had received from their new master, and the young prince himself was led about on the walls and his features compared to those of the youthful Caracalla. They urged them to lay down their arms and to cease to fight against the son of their benefactor, proclaiming loudly that the new Antonine was none other than Caracalla's son. Since the officers were restraining the soldiers from deserting to the standard of Elagabalus, Eutychianus urged the privates to kill their officers, promising them as reward the offices of those whom they killed (Dio 78, 32, 4). The result of such an offer may be readily imagined. Julianus himself seems to have escaped at first, but was soon discovered and decapitated.¹⁵ The entire army went over to Elagabalus, whose ranks were also swelled continually by the daily arrival of companies of deserters from other troops of Macrinus. In fact he soon became strong enough to come out from his fortified camp and march straight for Antioch to dispossess the usurper.

Meanwhile Macrinus was finally aroused from his lethargy, for at first he despised the revolt as a piece of childish folly,¹⁶ and began to muster his remaining troops to oppose the new Antonine. He

¹⁴ Dio 78, 32, 2 and 3; Her. V, 4.

¹⁵ Dio 78, 34, 4; Her. V, 4.

¹⁶ Her. V, 4 ad init; Dio. 78, 36, 1.

went to Apamea (Dio 78, 34, 1-3) where the second Parthian legion, known as the Albanians,¹⁷ was located. Here in an endeavor to stem the tide that had set in towards the youthful Elagabalus, he proclaimed his young son, Diadumenianus, "Imperator"¹⁸ and in his honor bestowed gifts and restored privileges to the soldiers without making any reference to the insurrection, for he did not wish the act to appear to be forced. But while he was in the midst of this, a disconcerting incident upset his plans. For there came to him a package sealed with Julianus' seal and purporting to be the head of his enemy, but when the wrappings were removed the ghastly features of Julianus himself were exposed to view. No longer daring to remain there, Macrinus fled to Antioch, and the Albanians and others in the vicinity deserted his standard. Both sides sent messengers to more distant provinces and garrisons urging them to join them, and great confusion resulted. (Dio 78, 34, 4-7)

Of course Macrinus notified the Senate of the insurrection (Dio 78, 36, 1-5) calling it childish and rash, but at the same time he wrote to Maximus the city prefect in more detail, telling him of the soldiers' demands and of the impossibility of satisfying them. He bitterly criticized Caracalla and spoke of the hatred that was apt to destroy rulers, but stated that he was not speaking of himself as though any one would wish him harm, to which one¹⁹ of the Senators is said to have responded that they all wished it. He seems to have sent a second letter also announcing his son's appointment as co-ruler. (Dio 78, 37, 5) He criticized the youthfulness of the new Antonine, although his own son, whom he now named "Imperator," was much younger (Dio 78, 38, 2). War was declared upon Elagabalus, his cousin, their mothers and grandmother, but amnesty was offered

¹⁷ Cf. Butler, page 52, note 8 and Dessau, *Inscr. Sel.* vol. 2., pt. 2, no. 8877 cited there.

¹⁸ It is unreasonable to suppose that the coins struck in honor of Diadumenianus giving him the title *Ἀβροκράτωρ* were issued after this time. On the other hand action of this sort at this time is very plausible. It is better to suppose that, with the approval of Macrinus, the title was applied in a loose way in the provinces long before this, and that the coins bearing this inscription were struck at the time of the trip through Asia Minor to the Danube. Cf. pp. 30-31, 39-41 and notes. As to the papyri bearing this title, cf. p. 73, n. 30.

¹⁹ One, however, who was considered to be of unsound mind (Dio. 78, 37, 1).

to those of his followers who would return to Macrinus. This was in accordance with a promise he himself had made. (Dio 78, 38, 1)

Upon the death of Julianus it became necessary for Macrinus to select a new pretorian prefect and he appointed Basilianus who was then holding the prefecture of Egypt. It is not necessary to suppose, however, that this appointment was made immediately upon receipt of the parcels post that brought the former prefect's head. It is much more likely that the Emperor first thought of his own personal safety and fled to Antioch and from there sent word to Basilianus of his promotion. This would help to explain the delay of the latter in Egypt referred to already. (pp. 67-68) Egypt was the stronghold of Macrinus. It is not surprising that the inhabitants should enthusiastically favor the one who had overthrown the perpetrator of the Alexandrian massacre,²⁰ and that they should look with utmost disfavor on a young prince whose claim to the throne was based upon his likeness to their hated persecutor and his supposed descent from him. This province was the only one in which there seems to have been any serious resistance to the accession of Elagabalus. Basilianus had been sent out by Macrinus to take the place of Valerius Datus, who served until the death of Caracalla.²¹ We have a monument in honor of Diadumenianus, found on the island of Elephantine that was set up by the third cohort of Cilician cavalry. It is a bas relief on a temple wall and represents Macrinus and his son. The former is only referred to indirectly in the expression "Aug(usti) n(ostri) filio" and Diadumenianus is not given the title of Augustus or that of Imperator. The inscription then should be dated before the formal proclamation at Apamea.²²

When the news of Elagabalus' uprising reached Egypt Marius Secundus, who had been made senator and placed over Phoenicia by Macrinus, was with him assisting in the management of affairs.²³

²⁰ Dio 77, 22 and 23; Her. IV, 9.

²¹ Cf. P. Meyer, *Die Praefecti Aegypti im II Jahrh.* (Hermes 32 (1897), p. 232).

²² Cf. *Comptes Rendus de L'Academie des Inscriptions*, 1905, pp. 73-5. Also p. 52 above.

²³ Is it not possible that he had been sent by Macrinus to take over the government and let Basilianus go to his new post, but had not yet relieved him when the disturbance arose and that this disorder in the State delayed the transfer of authority? This would go far towards explaining the delay in the departure of Basilianus. Orders would first be sent to Marius Secundus to repair to Egypt from Phoenicia with instructions to Basilianus to come to Macrinus. This does not preclude a separate message to Basilianus to come on as soon as he should be relieved by Marius Secundus.

Both of these men were staunch friends of Macrinus, and knowing the trend of public opinion in Egypt to be in his favor they killed the messengers of Elagabalus. However, Macrinus had enemies here too, among both soldiers and civilians, and there was much unrest until the news of his defeat arrived. This emboldened the opposition, and a bloody insurrection followed. Basilianus escaped by flight to Italy where he was betrayed by a false friend and later taken to Nicomedia and killed. (Dio 78, 35, 1-3)²⁴ This revolt probably did not break out until several weeks after the defeat of Macrinus. The private despatches sent to the governor would be kept secret as long as possible. The news would have to leak out, or be brought to the other faction by their own messengers. The insurrection may have lasted for several days or for several weeks, tho we can not state positively that Basilianus was still in Egypt when the news of Macrinus' death arrived.²⁵ We have evidence that Macrinus' authority was still recognized in Egypt as late as the 9th of July, at which time he was probably dead, tho the news would not yet have had time to travel from Cappadocia to Egypt. This evidence consists of three papyri, one in Leipsic and two in the British Museum. The first is a tax receipt²⁶ dated in the second year of Macrinus on the fourth day of the month Epeiph, which was the second of the three summer months (the period of the inundation), and would have corresponded to our month of July.²⁷ The names of father and son are coupled and they are referred to simply as "Καίσάρων τῶν κυριῶν." One of those in the British Museum²⁸ is a certificate for labor on the embankments of the Nile, a perennial tax in Egypt. It is dated in the second year of Macrinus in the month Pauni, which corresponds to June.²⁷ Diadumenianus is not mentioned. The day of the month seems to be the 10th, tho the reading is doubtful. If correct, this

²⁴ Very likely this execution took place while Elagabalus was spending the winter at Nicomedia (Dio. 79, 6, 1).

²⁵ Butler (p. 50) so states, but the reference to Dio does not bear out the statement. That passage refers to his defeat.

²⁶ Cf. Griechische Urkundung der Papyrussammlung zu Leipzig. Erster Band, L. Mittheis, p. 217, no. 79, Ostrakon no. 769.

²⁷ Cf. Fayum Towns and their Papyri (Grenfell, Hunt and Hogarth, London, 1900), pp. 204-5.

²⁸ Cf. Greek Papyri of the British Museum, Catalogue with texts, Vol. III (1898), page 60, Papyrus 1267a.

receipt was issued just after the defeat of Macrinus, but before the news could possibly have reached Egypt. The third²⁹ is the most elaborate and contains the latest date of all. It is a certificate from the collectors of Neilopolis (through their secretary) for amounts of three and two artabas of wheat measured by them on the 10th Pauni and 9th Epeiph respectively in the second year of Macrinus, i.e., June 10 and July 9, 218 B.C. Diadumenianus is mentioned in conjunction with his father and they are given the same titles, one of them being *Ἀντοκράτωρ*.³⁰ The news of Macrinus' formal bestowal of this title upon his son at Apamea had evidently reached Neilopolis, which was about 150 miles up the Nile from Alexandria, and his authority was still recognized there. The insurrection may have been in progress at Alexandria, but the power of Macrinus' party in the interior was not yet broken, and the news of the death of the emperors had not yet reached Neilopolis. It is quite likely that this was one of the last documents anywhere to bear Macrinus' name for most of the provinces seem to have submitted as soon as they learned of his defeat, some of them probably as soon as they heard of the first proclamation of Elagabalus. At any rate this is the last extant memorial of his reign. The process of erasure is about to begin.

As already stated, by reason of the continued accessions to his ranks Elagabalus became strong enough to march against Macrinus in Antioch. In fact he made such progress that he had covered about 100 of the 125 miles from Emesa to Antioch when Macrinus met him on the 8th of June near a small village and engaged in battle.³¹ Gannys, Elagabalus' general, tho untrained in military affairs, showed skill in the arrangement of his men at the entrance of the village, and they fought furiously, fearing punishment if they should

²⁹ Cf. Greek Papyri of the British Museum, Catalogue with texts Vol. II (1898), page 93, Papyrus CCCLI.

³⁰ The absence of this title from the other receipts proves little, for titles would naturally be omitted from such a document, but the names would hardly be linked with the same titles (as also in the Leipsic papyrus) nor would the title *Ἀντοκράτωρ* be bestowed were there no justification for it. These are ordinary business documents, not coins struck in honor of an emperor or inscriptions intended to prolong his fame.

³¹ Herodian says on the border of Phoenicia and Syria. Cf. p. 81, and see Butler, page 53, note 6. Hay (p. 69) locates the battle at Immae, but does not give his authority. For the basis of statements contained in these paragraphs, see Her. V, 4 and Dio 78, chapters 37, 38, 39.

be conquered. Macrinus' men as a whole did not fight with the same vigor, but his pretorian guards made a most courageous stand. It was no easy victory for the forces of the young prince. In fact the battle almost went against him, but Soaemias and Maesa rushed among the soldiers and by their personal entreaties checked their flight. Elagabalus himself appeared on horseback with drawn sword and the day was saved. Macrinus himself despaired of the event and fled from the field, leaving the pretorians still fighting for a general who had deserted them. This continued some time for they were ashamed to surrender, though they did not know what had become of their general and were at a loss as to what to do next. When those acting for Elagabalus found out from deserters what had really happened, they sent heralds to the pretorians, who were by this time opposing all the rest of the army, offering them amnesty and the continuance of their rank if they would surrender. As they had nothing more to fight for, they accepted the offer. Macrinus meanwhile with a few centurions fled to Antioch with all speed, in order to outstrip the report of his defeat, and entered the city as if a victor. The Emperor's first thought was for the safety of his son and immediately after the battle he sent him in care of a certain Epagathus to Artabanus, king of the Parthians with whom he had made peace in the previous year. He probably thought that Artabanus would be likely to protect him against the supposed son of the man who had ravaged his country and desecrated his ancestral tombs. (Dio 78, 1, 2)

Very soon Antioch heard the real result of the battle and excesses were being committed. Macrinus was obliged to flee³² in disguise. Shaving off his beard, laying aside his royal apparel and donning the dark suit of an ordinary traveler, he set out by night on horseback with a few others for Aegeae. Thence he went by regular post posing as a private soldier, one of the message carriers, and passed through Cappadocia, Galatia and Bithynia³³ to the seaport of Eribolus

³² Herodian (V, 4) says nothing of his stop in Antioch, but makes him flee day and night straight from the field of battle, representing himself as a messenger sent with all speed by Macrinus himself. As usual Herodian's account is more picturesque but less detailed. Very likely he did flee as far as Antioch in this way, but probably not in disguise until after leaving Antioch.

³³ Cf. pp. 39-43 and notes, also map on page 42 and observe that Macrinus took practically the same route in his flight that he had taken on his return from the

opposite Nicomedia whence he took ship for Chalcedon on the Propontis, for he did not dare to continue his journey by land through Nicomedia because of fear of Caecilius Aristo who was in charge there. His funds were running low and he sent to one of the provincial officials demanding money and was thus detected and captured. Herodian (V, 4 ad fin.) says he set out for Byzantium, but was driven back by a contrary wind. Of course his intention was to get to Rome, where he hoped to secure the backing of the Senate and the populace against the army. Dio (78, 39, 3 and 4) thinks the hope was well founded, and Herodian too remarks that he should have done this long ago (cf. p. 49).

Macrinus was captured by Aurelius Celsus, a centurion, and was taken back as a captive (Dio 78, 39, 6), perhaps over the same route he had just traversed. When he arrived in Cappadocia he learned of the capture of his son, and in his despair hurled himself from his chariot in an attempt to commit suicide. He only succeeded in breaking his shoulder. Not long after this, however, orders were received from Elagabalus to kill him before reaching Antioch. He was executed forthwith at Archelais³⁴ and his corpse remained unburied until Elagabalus arrived on his journey to Nicomedia.³⁵ According to Herodian (V, 4), Macrinus was found hiding in a suburb of Chalcedon and his head was cut off. The *Historia Augusta* (Macr. 10, 3) states that the head was taken to Elagabalus. Dio's statement is probably correct.

Diadumenianus had been caught at Zeugma, the place, says Dio (78, 40, 1), where he had been proclaimed Caesar. He was on the

Danube. It was evidently one of the regular post routes through Asia Minor. The reason why he did not pass through Nicomedia is expressly stated. Of course he did not this time go as far north as Heracleia Pontica. He probably took the route from Caesarea through Ancyra to Bithynia (cf. next note).

³⁴ Cf. Eusebius' *Chronicorum Libri duo* (Schoene Berlin, 1866), vol. 2, pp. 178-9 and 216. The town is in the western part of Cappadocia. The route planned was evidently through Ancyra, Archelais, Tyana and Tarsus, and Macrinus may have followed the same route in his flight instead of going through Caesarea, but in that case Cilicia would probably have been mentioned in Dio 78, 39, 30 along with Cappadocia and Bithynia.

³⁵ Dio 78, 39, 40. For a discussion of the exact date of the death of Macrinus based on the length and rapidity of the journey see Butler, pp. 55-7. She fixes it on June 21 or 22. Her computations are based on the Jerusalem Itinerary and on map measurements.

very threshold of safety, for Zeugma was on the Euphrates just across from Mesopotamia and took its name from the bridge of boats that spanned the river.³⁶ So ended the hopes of Macrinus. He lacked a few months of being fifty-four years old. Counting up to the day of the battle, he ruled a year and two months, lacking three days.³⁷

The government was at once established in the hands of Elagabalus. Outside of Egypt he seems to have had no trouble to speak of. Many pretenders rose, but were promptly put down (p. 58, n. 34). Partisans of Macrinus who were willing to acknowledge the new dynasty were granted amnesty and there seems to have been no wholesale change in officials.³⁸ The new emperor wrote the Senate a letter (Dio 79, 1) in which he criticized Macrinus on account of his low birth, for his taking the imperial power when he was not a senator, for his murder of Caracalla, and for making his son Augustus when only five (!) years old. The years taken from Diadumenianus were calmly bestowed upon Elagabalus, and he was declared to be of the same age as Augustus when he came into power. Elagabalus also sent to the Senate and soldiers (Dio 79, 2, 1) the letters of Macrinus to Maximus the prefect, in order that they might hate Macrinus. The subservient Senate passed the usual curse upon the memory of the fallen emperor and his name, with that of his son, was erased from the monuments (Dio 79, 2, 6). Of course this decree was not enforced in every case, but a very large number of the inscriptions have the names and titles of Macrinus and Diadumenianus wholly or in part erased. There is a marked tendency to allow the names of "Severus" and "Antoninus" to stand, when other titles are erased. This is probably due to the fact that Elagabalus also bore these titles.³⁹

³⁶ Cf. Smith's Dictionary of Geography, s.v.

³⁷ Dio 78, 41, 4; 78, 5, 4; 78, 11, 6.

³⁸ Some of the followers of Caracalla and Severus who had withdrawn into private life during the reign of Macrinus offered their services to him. For instance the later emperor, Maximinus the Thracian (Hist. Aug. Max. Duo 4, 4 and 6).

³⁹ This has been noted already (p. 63, n. 59) in the case of C.I.L. VIII, 4598 (the triumphal arch) by Renier (Rev. Arch. 1852, 1, p. 45), but many more instances may be cited, especially for the name "Severus," e.g.: C.I.L. III, 3714, 3725, 10618, 10635, 10637, 10644 (all mile-stones from Pannonia Inferior); VIII, 10464, 21992, 22626 (mile-stones from Africa); X, 7280 (inscription to Diadumenianus from Sicily); VI, 1984 (Fasti); Eph. Ep. VII, 1209 (marble base at Ostia).

Cohen gives two coins of Elagabalus that seem to refer to this victory. One of them (p. 331, no. 69) bears the reverse inscription "Jovi Victori" and the reverse type shows Elagabalus standing and holding a thunderbolt and spear, an eagle at his feet and two ensigns behind him. The other (p. 334, no. 108) is inscribed "Mars Victor" and shows that god with spear and trophy. There is an⁴⁰ inscription from Numidia that is supposed to refer to this victory. Elagabalus also probably founded the city of Nicopolis in Palestine on the site of the ancient Emmaus to commemorate the overthrow of Macrinus.⁴¹

⁴⁰ C.I.L. VIII, 7963, cf. Butler, p. 54, note 8.

⁴¹ Cf. Eusebius' *Chronicorum Libri duo* (Schoene) vol. II, pp. 178-9 and Duruy *Hist. des Rom.* VI, 272, note. Smith's *Dictionary of Ancient Geography*, however, questions Eusebius' identification of Nicopolis and Emmaus.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LITERARY SOURCES—GREEK

As this study of the lives of Macrinus and Diadumenianus is based primarily upon the inscriptions and coins, it seemed best to give in the first chapter a preliminary survey of the nature and extent of that evidence, leaving the discussion of the well known literary sources till later.

The first and most important of the latter is, of course, Cassius Dio. His statements carry great weight, for he was not merely a contemporary but an office holder under Macrinus and had the opportunity, ability and inclination to secure accurate information. (Dio 79, 7, 4) He was no scandal monger, although in common with other ancient authors he was exceedingly superstitious and credulous as to omens and prodigies.¹ These may be omitted without seriously interfering with the parts of the work that are of real value. We are fortunate, too, in having Dio's exact words for this period.² The text for most of the later books exists only in his epitomator Xiphilinus and in various excerpts, but for books 78 and 79, covering the years 217 to 219, there exists the oldest of all the manuscripts, a parchment known as Vaticanus 1288. Much work has been done on the text of Dio and many attempts have been made to restore the mutilated portions. There still remain, however, many passages in these books that are either obscure or entirely illegible.³

Dio's account, partly because of these lacunae, is often incomplete and disconnected. While definite statements carry great weight omissions do not, for in many cases the points omitted may have been included in the mutilated portions. Moreover the account is badly jumbled. Digressions and parenthetical remarks are inserted at unsuitable places. Sometimes these digressions are so long as to break the thread of the story, and give a wrong impression as to the sequence

¹ Cf. Dio 78, 7, 8, 25, 30 and 37.

² Cf. Foster's *Dio's Rome* (Troy, 1905), I, pp. 18 and 20.

³ The best edition is that of Boissevain (Berlin, 1901), which is the basis of our citations.

of events.⁴ This is carried so far that one might almost say the treatment is topical, but this will not hold for the same topics are discussed in more than one place. Dio seems to have recorded immediately whatever the association of ideas recalled to his mind. The natural result is a scrappy narrative.

We must also take into consideration the prejudices of the author. Dio was a senator and in the latter part of his work, as Foster⁵ points out, lays too great stress upon the relation of the emperor to the senate. In the reign of Macrinus, for example, the letters to the senate, the actions of the senate and the emperor's treatment of the senate are given unusual prominence when one considers that Macrinus was an absentee emperor. Pride in his own senatorial rank helps to explain the emphasis he lays on the low birth of the upstart emperor and his criticism of the appointment to office of those not senators, or of the sudden appointment of senators merely to make them governors immediately. (Dio 78, 13, 14, etc.) In fact, he closes his account by saying that Macrinus' one mistake was in making himself emperor instead of choosing some senator for that position. (Dio 78, 41, 2)

As has been said, Dio himself was an office holder under Macrinus, and the great amount of space that he gives to criticisms of the emperor's appointees makes one think that he may have been actuated by a certain amount of official jealousy. He gives Macrinus credit, however, where he thinks he deserves it and on the whole may be said to treat him very fairly indeed. Dio was evidently an official of ability and well qualified to judge of the fitness of other officials for the offices to which they were assigned. He may well have looked with disgust at provincial officials whom he felt had received their offices as rewards for personal services to Macrinus and not because of fitness for their positions. Dio was not one of Macrinus' new appointees, but had held office under Pertinax, Severus and Caracalla, and he continued in official positions under Elagabalus and perhaps under Alexander Severus. His service under Macrinus was then but a short episode in his official career.⁶

⁴ Cf. the long delay in the account of the Parthian campaign, not recorded until chapter 26 just before the revolt of Elagabalus.

⁵ Cf. Foster's *Dio's Rome*, Vol. I, p. 30.

⁶ Cf. Foster's *Dio's Rome* I, 38-40, with citations from Dio, for an account of his official career.

Attention has already been called to his unsatisfactory version of the Parthian campaign (p. 35, note 2) and Armenian settlement (p. 37 f.) and to his almost entire omission of the Dacian settlement (p. 38 ff.). His date for the proclamation of Elagabalus is too late (p. 66 ff.). In other matters his statements, as far as they go, have generally been accepted at their face value in the preceding pages.

Herodian is the second literary source. He also is a contemporary, for he states that the events he describes occurred in his own lifetime.⁷ His work is more sketchy, less accurate in details, but more logically arranged and much more readable. This is partly due to the better condition of the text, but in a greater degree to his pleasing diction and style and to his mode of treatment. Tho by no means as painstaking as Dio he is sufficiently accurate as ancient historians defined accuracy. He makes it his first aim to produce an interesting and readable narrative. Such a word picture, tho inaccurate in some unimportant details, often gives us a better idea of the period under discussion than a more detailed and accurate, but at the same time a more prosaic account.

In most instances Herodian agrees with or supplements Dio, and seldom flatly contradicts him. In fact it seems quite likely that he may have used Dio as one of several sources from which he drew, passing over lightly those things that he considered unimportant and too prosaic for a polished history, and enlarging upon those susceptible of dramatic treatment. Many of the apparent contradictions may be harmonized by noting Herodian's tendency to hasty generalizations in the case of subjects he does not care to treat in detail and his liking for dramatic descriptions. Sometimes where the two accounts differ one can see that Herodian's is the one most likely to have been composed "post eventum" as a plausible explanation of what had occurred.

The tendency to generalization imparts a much more rapid movement to the narrative. Let us collect a few examples already noted in various connections on previous pages. After describing in detail the plot against Caracalla and his death, Herodian passes over with a word the disposition of the corpse or ashes, and the death of Julia and plunges at once into the war with Artabanus, a much more logical plan than Dio's. His brief statement as to informers

⁷ Cf. Her. I, 1, 3 and II, 15, 7.

(p. 54) may well be a generalization based on Dio's detailed account. In telling of the plot of Elagabalus, Herodian has nothing to say about Eutychianus, but represents Maesa as the prime mover and leader. (p. 66) Here again he is painting his picture with swift, broad strokes. He looks upon Eutychianus as a subordinate and deals only with the main actors in the drama. The question as to whether Eutychianus acted with or without authority on the night when the plot was actually consummated, and just when and how the royal family got into the camp, (p. 66) he would look upon as of little importance. Dio recounts in some detail the immediate steps taken by Julianus on his own initiative to quell the revolt. (p. 68, n. 12) Herodian (V, 4) makes Macrinus the director of the movement and describes his reception of the news of the revolt and his sending of the prefect, adding "when Julianus came, for that was the prefect's name," and telling of his death within the next ten lines. In locating the final battle on the borders of Phoenicia and Syria (p. 73, note 31), Herodian is drawing from another source, but here again he is generalizing. He makes no reference to Macrinus' stop at Antioch after his defeat by the forces of Elagabalus, but has him flee in disguise direct from the field of battle (p. 74, note 32). This again is not so much a contradiction as an omission of details. His account of the death of Macrinus is of the most summary nature (p. 75) and the natural inference from it is that Diadumenianus was actually with his father when they were both captured and killed (Her. V, 4 ad fin.). This is the only place where Herodian mentions the young prince, considering him of minor importance on account of his youth, and he may mean merely that the father's downfall was accompanied by that of the son.

Herodian's fondness for dramatic descriptions appears in some of the passages cited in the previous paragraph. He excels in his battle scenes, graphically portraying (Her. IV, 15) the fight between Macrinus and Artabanus (pp. 33-35) and giving us a vivid picture of the battle between Macrinus and Elagabalus with the former's flight, the embarrassing situation of the troops he had deserted and their final surrender (pp. 73-74). Here also should be noted his description of the personal appearance of Macrinus (Her. V, 2) and of how he imitated Marcus Aurelius (p. 49), and especially his pen picture of the youth Elagabalus clad in his priestly garb (Her. V, 3), his person

adorned with oriental splendor, dazzling the eyes of the rude soldiers (p. 65 f.).

We see this same tendency in the letter and speech of his own composition inserted by Herodian. These are elaborate and lengthy. He gives an inaugural address to the soldiers (Her. IV, 14, 1) supposed to have been delivered before the battle with Artabanus. The letter sent to the senate from Antioch occupies a whole chapter (Her. V, 1). Considering the amount of space given to the reign of Macrinus this speech and letter are of undue length, tho not of course from the view point of the author.

In several cases where the two accounts differ, Herodian's seems more like a later invention. For example, his story (Her. IV, 12, 4) of the request sent by Caracalla to Maternianus that he should consult the oracles in his behalf and the suggestion that the latter seized the opportunity to ruin Macrinus (p. 19); the statement (Her. IV, 12, 2) that Macrinus was already in disfavor with the emperor and ridiculed by him (p. 20); his version (Her. IV, 13, 1) of the rank and grievance of Martialis (p. 20f); the matter of Julianus' first actions, already referred to; and the decapitation of Macrinus.⁸

Herodian's history of this reign is, then, a swiftly moving panorama of the principal deeds of the leading actors. It is made up from various sources, one of which was probably Dio himself. Herodian omits that which he considers prosaic or unimportant, summarizing it briefly where it is necessary to do so in order to keep from breaking the thread of the story. He enlarges upon that which is susceptible of dramatic treatment and inserts a couple of rhetorical compositions of his own.

⁸ Her. V, 4. Cf. above pp. 67-69, 81.

CHAPTER IX

THE LITERARY SOURCES—LATIN

The one main Latin source for the lives of Macrinus and Diadumenianus is the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*. It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the authorship, investigate the sources or analyze the contents of this collection. Exhaustive work has been done by Peter, Lécivain, Hönn, Butler and many others on the collection as a whole and on the separate biographies. Peter's¹ contributions have been most extensive; Lécivain has the most complete and satisfactory analysis of the several lives;² and Butler³ a very painstaking "Analysis of the Modern Critical Literature dealing with the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*."

Nor shall we attempt to determine definitely the author or authors of the lives of Macrinus and Diadumenianus,⁴ a problem that seems impossible of solution. It is very generally agreed that the life of Diadumenianus is one of the poorest in the entire collection, and while that of Macrinus is much better yet it is of very trifling value.⁵ Nor does this judgment seem far wrong. The author himself in his opening paragraph complains of the paucity of material and says "nos tamen ex diversis historicis eruta in lucem proferemus, et ea quidem quae memoratu digna erunt." He then refers to Junius Cordus as an authority for the lives of the minor emperors, but criticises his work as being full of worthless trifles. Whoever wrote the life of Macrinus we now have, it is evident enough that, as he says, he dug it out of various histories. It is exceedingly scrappy and

¹ Peter, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (with introduction and critical notes) (Leipsic, 1884); *Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Leipsic, 1892); *Historia Critica Scriptorum Historiae Augustae* (Leipsic); *Exercitationes Criticae in Script. Hist. Aug.* (Posen, 1863), etc.

² Lécivain, *Etudes sur l'Histoire Auguste* (Paris, 1904).

³ Butler, *Studies in the Life of Heliogabalus*, pp. 1-36.

⁴ Always referred to in the *Scriptores* as *Diadumenus* (p. 13).

⁵ Giambelli, *Gli Scrittori della Storia Augusta* (Rome, 1881), is about the only critic who treats the life of Macrinus with respect.

is put together like a piece of patchwork with first a scrap from one source and then from another with but little regard for continuity or sequence, and of course with much useless repetition. The life of Diadumenianus does little more than ring the changes on the title of Antoninus, and in fact one theory is that these lives belonged to a collection of lives of the Antonines, and that this explains the disarrangement of the lives in the manuscripts.⁶ The life of Diadumenianus was placed after that of Elagabalus because the former was a false Antonine, and the biography of Macrinus was added because he was the "Father of an Antonine" (Diad. 7, 5-7). The author himself states that the life of Diadumenianus would not have been worth writing had he not been an Antonine.⁷

The life of Macrinus is assigned in the manuscripts to Capitolinus and that of Diadumenianus to Lampridius, but this is by no means conclusive. The life of Macrinus (15, 4) is dedicated to Diocletian and is thus placed in the list of the earlier biographies in the collection. Yet its use of Greek sources militates against this view.⁸ The two biographies, tho assigned to different authors might (from Diad. 6, 1) be thought to have been written by one author, Lampridius. Reference is made in both lives to the "duo Gordiani" while in the life of the Gordians, also attributed to Capitolinus, writers who thus speak of two Gordians instead of three are referred to contemptuously as "quidam imperiti scriptores."⁹

On the whole the best theory is that held by Lécivain that the life of Macrinus belongs to the first series and that this series was the work of Spartianus; that it was revised by Capitolinus who added personal reflections, inventions of all sorts and false documents. He

⁶ Cf. Peter, *Die Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, pp. 149-50; Peter *Historia Critica Scriptorum Historiae Augustae*, p. 15; also p. XIII in *Praefatio* to Peter's Edition of the *Scriptores*. View upheld by Giambelli, "Gli Scrittori della Storia Augusta," p. 172. Opposed by Lécivain (p. 18), who thinks the explanation unsatisfactory and insufficient and shows that it does not account for all the disarrangements in the lives.

⁷ *Macr.* 10, 6; *Diad.* 6, 1.

⁸ On this subject compare Mommsen, "Die Scriptores Hist. Aug." in *Hermes* XXV, 1890, pp. 270-1 and note; Peter, *Die Scriptores Hist. Aug.*, pp. 76-7, and p. 148.

⁹ Cf. *Macr.* 3, 5; *Diad.* 6, 3; *Gordd.* 2, 1. Giambelli (p. 163) treats this subject fully, compares Clodius Albinus 4, 2, and says Capitolinus is speaking here in general terms and using another source.

used Greek sources (including Herodian) and put his own name to this revision, but left the dedication to Diocletian unchanged. The life of Diadumenianus was probably written by Lampridius, as it purports to have been, but it too was revised and rewritten at a later date by Capitolinus.¹⁰

We have already mentioned Cordus (p. 83) as one of the sources from which the author or authors drew. Another source frequently named in the *Scriptores*, tho not cited as an authority in these lives, is Marius Maximus, possibly the same one who held office under Macrinus. (p. 57, n. 29) There was evidently an "Imperial Chronicle"¹¹ from which Aurelius Victor and Eutropius also drew. Herodian is directly referred to in *Diad.* 2, 5, and *Macr.* 8, 3-10, 4 is taken from him.¹² But a great deal of the life of Macrinus and almost all that of Diadumenianus is composed of inventions of the writer and of worthless material gathered from various sources. This does not mean that it is entirely valueless, but that a little wheat is mixed with a large amount of chaff. The accounts in Aurelius Victor and Eutropius are so brief and condensed, and of so little value, that they do not merit separate discussion.

After the elaborate analysis of these lives, section by section, given by Lécivain (pp. 182-190, 264-8) it seems useless to attempt anything further of that sort. However, it may not be out of place to take up briefly each chapter in turn, pointing out its general character and referring to some points not already mentioned in the preceding pages.

Life of Macrinus, chapter 1. Introduction dealing with the difficulty of writing the lives of the lesser emperors and referring to Cordus. Evidently modelled on the introduction to the life of Pescennius Niger attributed to Spartianus.¹³

¹⁰ Cf. Lécivain, pp. 20, 182, 266; also Peter, *Die Scriptores Hist. Aug.*, p. 148.

¹¹ Cf. Lécivain, pp. 423, 427, 430. He gives a list of passages in the *Historia Augusta* (including the lives of Macrinus and Diadumenianus) drawn from this "Imperial Chronicle" with the parallel passages from Aurelius Victor and Eutropius. Hönn (p. 4) has a like table with one or two additional references. Cf. also page 29f. above.

¹² Cf. Mommsen, "Die Scriptores Hist. Aug." (*Hermes* XXV, p. 271, note), and see p. 87 below.

¹³ Cf. *Pesc. Nig.* 1, 1-2 and 9, 1-2; see also Plew, "Kritische Beiträge zu den S. H. A.," p. 9, and Hönn, p. 4.

Chapter 2. Brief statement of the death of Caracalla and the accession of Macrinus, the attitude of the senate and the giving of the title of Antoninus to Diadumenianus.

Chapter 3. A parenthetical discussion of the name "Antoninus." Valueless. Lécivain terms this chapter a "tissue of absurdities."¹⁴

Chapter 4. A collection of stories regarding the early life of Macrinus, some of them invented by Elagabalus, others said to have been current. The closing sentence tells of his murder of Caracalla and concealment of the crime. These stories while not authentic are not necessarily entirely false. The details are dubious, but the general trend of the stories is worth noticing.

Chapter 5. Looks back to the last sentence of the second chapter. The sending of Caracalla's body to Rome by Adventus. Macrinus fears opposition. He takes the name Severus¹⁵ and gives a donative to the soldiers. He sends a letter to the senate. The statement in the first sentence that Diadumenianus was at once associated with his father in the empire is, of course, an error if it is taken literally, but it evidently refers merely to the taking of the name Antoninus and thus being designated for the succession.

Chapter 6 purports to consist of extracts from the letter of Macrinus to the senate. These are, of course, the author's invention as in the case of the much more elaborate letter recorded by Herodian and discussed above.

Chapter 7, 1-4. Honors voted to Macrinus.¹⁶ 5-8. Another discourse on the name Antoninus and those who held the title. Valueless.

Chapter 8, 1-2. Historical statement again after the parenthesis on the Antonines. Tells in one sentence of the Parthian War, the uprising of Elagabalus and the death of Macrinus.

¹⁴ Lécivain, p. 183. For the "vates Caelestis" mentioned in this chapter he compares Pert. 4, 2.

¹⁵ The author reports a joke that was current "Sic Macrinus est Severus, quo modo Diadumenus Antoninus." Lécivain (p. 185) thinks this pleasantry an interpolation because of the use of "Diadumenus" for Diadumenianus, but this would prove too much. This spelling in other passages, too, evidently looks back to Capitolinus' source. The joke may very well have been current in Rome during Macrinus' reign.

¹⁶ The clause "quos hodie pontifices minores vocant" is interpolated, as pointed out both by Peter and Lécivain. It is taken from Livy XXII, 57, 3 where the reference is to 216 B.C. Cf. Peter, *Die S. H. A.*, p. 28 and Lécivain, p. 185.

Chapter 8, 3 to 10, 4. This passage is based on Herodian,¹⁷ as has already been pointed out. (p. 85) It is a brief account of the peace with Artabanus, the plot of Maesa, the revolt, the desertion of Macrinus' soldiers, the death of Julianus, the flight and death of Macrinus and Diadumenianus, and closes with Herodian's statement that Diadumenianus was made Caesar, but not Augustus. The last sentence in chapter ten states that the life of Diadumenianus would not have been worth writing had he not been an Antonine. (p. 84)

The remainder of the life is devoted to the characterization of Macrinus. The subject matter of the next three chapters is in each case summarized in the first sentence.

Chapter 11, "Fuit tamen in vita imperatoria paulo rigidior et austerior," tells of his desire to be known as Severus and Pertinax, of his acceptance of the title of Felix and his (supposed) refusal¹⁸ of the title of Pius. It includes a stanza of poetry on the subject,¹⁹ and an answer to it ascribed to Macrinus. This of course is worthless.

Chapter 12, "Fuit igitur superbus et sanguinarius et volans militariter imperare," is devoted to most awful tales of the emperor's cruelty (pp. 50, 54) and closes with a reference to the informers. (p. 54) In the middle of this chapter without the slightest connection is one misplaced sentence of historical value. "Pugnavit tamen et contra Parthos et contra Armenios et contra Arabos, quos Eudæmones vocant, non minus fortiter quam feliciter." This is a general statement from another source and the first half of it would represent from Macrinus' point of view the campaigns recorded by Dio and Herodian. The reference to the Arabians has already been discussed (p. 38).

Chapter 13, "Fuit in iure non incallidus," tells of judicial and administrative reforms and is interesting and valuable (p. 55), but wanders off into tales of Macrinus' cruelty, gourmandizing and stinginess.

¹⁷ Cf. Lécivain, p. 187 and Hönn, pp. 12-13 ff. for detailed comparison. As pointed out by Hönn (p. 14) the form *Varia* for Maesa is taken from the Latin source and is found also in Hel. 10, 1. The form *Symiamira* is also from the Latin source (Lécivain, p. 186, note 6) and is found in Hel. 2, 1 and 14, 4.

¹⁸ Contradicted by the inscriptions as shown on pages 25 and 26.

¹⁹ The stanza is supposed to have been translated from the Greek. Lécivain (p. 101) gives a number of other examples from the *Scriptores* of verses supposedly coming from the Greek, e.g., Pesc. Nig. 8, 1-6 and 12, 5-6.

Chapter 14. Allusion to Macrinus' low origin with some more poetry supposed to be translated from the Greek and another statement of his death.

Chapter 15. Another statement of the death of Macrinus, this time "in a Bithynian village," and of the accession of Elagabalus. The latter's character. Closing dedication to Diocletian.

It will be seen from the above summary that the biography is composed of an introduction (ch. 1); an historical section (ch. 2-10), incoherent with a large admixture of trifling legends; a character analysis of Macrinus (ch. 11-14) with an attempt at literary finish; and a concluding chapter (15) referring to his successor and dedicating the work to Diocletian.

The life of Diadumenianus, as has already been said (p. 84) revolves around the one idea of the name "Antonine." Hönn (pp. 17-19) goes so far as to say that there are no historical facts in it except those culled from the life of Macrinus and that the life is so thoroughly false and worthless that an analysis is useless.

Life of Diadumenianus, chapter 1. Grief of the soldiers because there was no Antoninus in the State. Macrinus fears they will turn to others. Designates his son as Antoninus. Address supposed to have been delivered to the soldiers at this time and their reception of it. A manifest fabrication. In the first sentence, "nihil habet vita memorabile, nisi quod Antoninus est dictus" of course looks back to Macr. 10, 6.

Chapter 2-3, 1. Supposed speeches of Macrinus and Diadumenianus at the giving of the donative. Probably the Emperor made a speech at this time, but not this one. The one accredited to Diadumenianus is certainly elaborate for a ten year old boy. A sentence is inserted here making direct reference to Herodian's version that Diadumenianus received only the title of Caesar. Money coined in Antioch in honor of Diadumenianus and Macrinus.²⁰ Story of robes called "Antoniniana" given to the people, following the example of Caracalla.²¹ Copy of edict decreeing a "congiarium."

²⁰ The former at once, the latter after the decree of the senate. A questionable statement as the elevation of Diadumenianus implied the elevation of Macrinus (cf. *Zeitschrift für Num.* XXXI (1914), 12). Yet in his eagerness to establish his son's succession, Macrinus may have done something of this very sort.

²¹ Cf. Lécivain, p. 265.

Macrinus has the "Antonine" standards brought into camp and orders that images of silver and gold be set up to Caracalla²² and that a seven days' "supplicatio" be celebrated for the name of "Antoninus."

Chapter 3, 2-4. Description of the personal appearance of Diadumenianus.

Chapters 4 and 5 are devoted to a list of the omens that are said to have occurred at the birth of Diadumenianus and during his infancy. Such stories are, of course, common. The one having to do with the origin of his name is of special interest, and has already been discussed (p. 11 ff.), as has also the title "procurator aerarii maioris" given to Macrinus (p. 16, note 25). The statement that he was born on the birthday of Antoninus Pius is not in accord with Dio who fixes his birthday definitely as September 14. That of Antoninus Pius was September 19 (Ant. Pius 1, 8). These two dates are close enough, however, to be easily confounded by a careless writer.

Chapter 6. Another discourse on the name "Antoninus," giving a list of those who have held it, and telling how and why it was bestowed in each case. The chapter is introduced by another apology for writing the life at all, similar to the one at the very first of the book.

Chapter 7. Some more verses supposed to be translated from the Greek. They are addressed to Commodus. Also a letter supposed to have been sent by Macrinus to his wife, Nonia Celsa (otherwise unknown), exulting in the bestowal of the name Antoninus upon their son. A most foolish and manifest fabrication.

Chapter 8. Correct statement of the length of Macrinus' reign. His son killed because of the father's faults. A letter purporting to have been sent by Diadumenianus to his father, criticising him for undue lenience to certain conspirators.²³ The letter is concocted in an effort to prove the cruelty of the young prince and to justify his execution. It includes a quotation from the Aeneid (IV, 272) comparing Diadumenianus to Ascanius and is totally unlike what would

²² Lécivain (p. 265) points out that this may very well be true, although the senate had his images destroyed (Dio 78, 18). In camp Macrinus wished to conciliate the soldiers and hide his own part in the death of Caracalla.

²³ The titles "Dux Armeniae et item legatus Asiae atque Arabiae" are evidently fictitious. Cf. Lécivain, p. 33.

be expected from a young boy. In fact the compiler himself recognises this and states that some think it was the work of his tutor, but nevertheless "*ex qua apparet, quam asper futurus iuvenis, si vixisset.*"

Chapter 9. Another letter in the same strain with fictitious names. It is said to have been sent by Diadumenianus to his mother. Lollius Urbicus, mentioned here, is referred to nowhere else and may be a fictitious character.²⁴ At any rate, the story credited to him that the reading of these letters to the soldiers caused the death of Diadumenianus, when they were about to save him after killing his father, is at utter variance with the established account of the death of the two, as is the statement that their heads were put on a javelin by the soldiers.²⁵ The life closes with a brief notice of the new emperor Elagabalus.

Stripped of verbiage regarding the name of Antonine, of omens, forged letters and speeches and of manifest borrowings from the life of Macrinus, there is practically nothing left of the life of Diadumenianus. It is fair to say that for historical purposes it has no independent value whatever.

As already stated (p. 85), the other Latin sources, Aurelius Victor and Eutropius, are so condensed that they are of little importance. The former (ch. XXII) contains four sentences, the latter (8, 21) three. In each case a sentence or two from the last of the life of Caracalla is also of interest.

²⁴ Cf. Mommsen, *Die Script. Hist. Aug.* (Hermes XXV, (1890), p. 261, note 2), also Lécivain, page 89. Borghesi, however, identifies him with a family another representative of which is known in the time of Hadrian and the Antonines (Borghesi *Oeuvres* 9, p. 302 and note, cited in Butler, p. 32).

²⁵ Lécivain (p. 266) thinks this a reminiscence of *Pesc. Nig.* 6, 1.

CONCLUSION

We have attempted in the foregoing pages to present a connected account of the life and reign of Macrinus and of his son Diadumenianus, basing our conclusions upon the inscriptional and numismatic evidence, of which there is a surprising amount considering the shortness of this reign, and the fact that this emperor was "damnat-
us." We have also used the literary sources giving Dio first place as the most complete and accurate, and checking him by Herodian whose narrative is more graphic and vivid. The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, originally taken as the basis of our work, have been relegated to a subordinate position. They are interesting and valuable to a degree, but the more carefully they are examined the clearer it becomes that they are by no means on a par with the other narratives.

From all of these sources put together it is possible to construct a fairly complete account of this little known emperor and his son who occupy the year's parenthesis between the cruel Caracalla and the frenzied Elagabalus.

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS CITED

C. I. L.	II,	4789	C. I. L. VIII,	22056
		4790		22562
	III,	3714		22626
		3720		22628
		3724	X,	3347
		3725		7280
		5539	XI,	1543
		5728		1544
		5736		6116
		5737	XII,	5828
		8307	XIII,	1798
		10618		1938
		10629		2280
		10635		7379
		10637		7570c
		10644		7800
		10647	XIV,	2257
		10658	XV,	4108
		11833		4109
		11841		4110
		12339		4141
		12733		7238
	V,	7783		7331
	VI,	367		7343
		1984		7505
		2009	C. I. G. I, v,	1620
		2104		3708
		3025	Eph. Ep. VII,	1209
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